

On Second Anniversary of Mass Arrest in Atlanta, Multiple RICO Defendants File Civil Lawsuits Seeking Damages Against Police and the City

March 7, 2025

Report on the filing of recent lawsuits against the ongoing repression of activists fighting the Cop City project in Atlanta, GA. Originally posted to [Agency](#).

Wednesday marked two years since the sweeping, unconstitutional [arrests](#) of 23 festival-goers at the South River Music Festival in Atlanta, for their alleged involvement in political organizing against the proposed Atlanta Public Safety Training Center, otherwise known as ‘Cop City’. All 23 arrested on March 5th, 2023 for domestic terrorism have not as of yet been indicted on those charges. In August 2023, the Georgia Attorney General issued the largest RICO (Racketeer Influenced Corrupt Organizations) [indictment](#) of its kind against 61 people, including the 23 festival-goers, for their perceived involvement with the ‘Stop Cop City’ movement.

In the two years since their arrests, several RICO defendants have filed civil lawsuits to meet the two-year statute of limitations in Georgia. To date, six lawsuits have been filed for claims ranging from

false and retaliatory arrest to unlawful detention and selective prosecution. RICO defendants also allege their First and Fourth Amendment rights were violated in the process. The prosecution has also been accused of recording and publishing confidential attorney-client communications as part of the discovery.

Jamie Marsicano, who was arrested on March 5, 2023, filed a [federal lawsuit](#) seeking damages against officers responsible for the South River Forest arrests and the City of Atlanta for “implementing an unlawful, blanket policy of arresting and pretextually charging individuals perceived to be protesting Cop City.”

Marsicano’s defense attorneys say they’ve documented a number of incidents where pretextual charges have occurred under the city’s policy, and further argue it is because of this policy that law enforcement [killed](#) Manuel Esteban Paez Terán, or ‘Tortugueta’ on January 18th, 2023.

‘The Police Terrorized us’: Details about the March 5 arrests

On March 5, 2023, over a thousand people gathered in Weelaunee People’s Park—a then-public space also known as Intrenchment Creek Park, about a mile away from the Cop City construction site—to attend the South River Music

Festival, which was organized as part of a broader week of action to support the Stop Cop City movement. At about 5:30 p.m., police and construction vehicles were set on fire at the construction site. Around an hour or so later, police [entered the music festival grounds](#) and began making indiscriminate arrests.

As reported in [Mainline](#) and the [Appeal](#), officers “did not communicate or give clear orders to attendees, including elderly individuals and children.” Witnesses also reported that police “pointed lights and guns into a children’s bounce house.” That night, police detained a total of 35 people, including a [legal observer](#) from the National Lawyers Guild. Of those, 23 were arrested for domestic terrorism and taken to DeKalb County Jail where they were held for months without bond. A total of 42 people have been arrested on domestic terrorism charges and five have so far been indicted for domestic terrorism.

“Captivity is an experience I will never forget,” says Victor Puertas, who was arrested while attending the music festival and has since been charged with RICO. “All I had been through and knew at that time was that I had been arrested in an extremely violent manner and that I had been charged with the most bogus and punitive charges possible: domestic terrorism and RICO.”

Other Lawsuits Filed

Another RICO defendant who was arrested on March 5, 2023 filed a lawsuit on Wednesday. Three RICO defendants who were arrested on January 18, 2023, the same day that police murdered Tortuguita, previously filed [civil lawsuits](#) for false arrest, unlawful detention, and malicious prosecution. An additional RICO defendant, Hannah Kass, who was arrested on May 12, 2022, after attending a protest at an office of Cop City contractor Brasfield & Gorie, also filed a [civil lawsuit](#).

“I filed a civil lawsuit because I believe it is critically important for us as targeted forest defenders to push back against the state’s authoritarian repression of the Stop Cop City movement,” said Kass, who filed their lawsuit in May 2024. “The state must be held accountable and dissuaded from continuing to use police terror, random false arrests and detention, malicious prosecution, and other civil rights violations as tools of abuse against those who disagree with state actions.”

Kass’ experience is just one example of how the process of arrest, incarceration, and awaiting trial on serious charges has had a devastating impact on the lives of dozens of activists. “As a result of my arrest, I have been scarred with continual post-traumatic stress and reputational harm,” continued Kass. “I have been hospitalized and medicated due to panic and paranoia. I was doxxed and harassed by right-wing media pundits and trolls, and subsequently subjected to a disciplinary hearing by my university’s conduct office.”

For more information on the sweeping RICO criminal case and ways to support the defendants and the movement to Stop Cop City visit: weelaunethefree.org. A tour across the US has also been announced about pushing back against repression of Stop Cop City activists. See [more info here](#).

Abolish Rent: A Discussion with Tracy Rosenthal and

Leonardo Vilch from the the LA Tenants Union

March 7, 2025

In this episode of *The Beautiful Idea*, we speak with [Tracy Rosenthal](#) and [Leonardo Vilchis](#), two tenant organizers in Los Angeles, CA, involved in the [Los Angeles Tenant Union \(LATU\)](#), and co-authors of the new book, [Abolish Rent: How Tenants Can End the Housing Crisis](#). From [the publisher](#):

“Rent drives millions into debt, despair, and onto the streets. The social cost of rent is too damn high. Written for anyone fed up with the permanent housing crisis, complicit politicians, and real estate greed, *Abolish Rent* dissects our housing system from the perspective of those it immiserates. Through unsparing analysis and striking stories of resistance, it shows us how tenants can, through organizing and collective action, harness our power and win the housing we deserve.

From two co-founders of the largest tenants union in the country, this deeply reported account of the resurgent tenant movement centers poor and working-class people who are fighting back, staying put, and remaking the city in the process. Authors Tracy Rosenthal and Leonardo Vilchis take us to trilingual strategy meetings, raucous marches against gentrification, and daring eviction defenses where immigrants put their lives on the line. These are the seeds of the revolutionary movement we need to make our housing, our cities, and the world our home.”

During our discussion, we cover the growing crisis around rent and housing and how landlords and politicians have attempted to shift the discussion onto attacks on migrants and the houseless. We cover how the [Los Angeles Tenants Union](#) and the wider [Autonomous Tenant Union Network](#) have grown to build a grassroots, tenant led autonomous movement, aimed at building power on a

neighborhood level.

cover photo via [Instagram](#)

In Contempt #50: National Guard Sent in to New York Prisons, Leonard Peltier Comes Home

March 6, 2025

In this column, we present our monthly roundup of political prisoner, prison rebel, and repression news, happenings, announcements, action and analysis. Packed in as always are updates, fundraisers, and birthdays.

There’s a lot happening, so let’s *dive right in!*

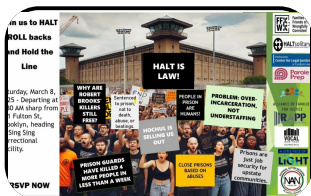
HALT Act Suspended as New York Prisons See Uprisings As National Guard Called in During Guard Strike

New York prison guards beat another man to death.

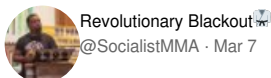
— [Read the book Starting Somewhere \(@jphillll.bsky.social\) 2025-03-03T00:36:21.367Z](#)

In recent weeks, guards in New York prisons have launched a large wildcat strike, leading the New York Governor to call in thousands of National Guard soldiers to help run the prisons and [put prisoners on lockdown - shutting off basic programs](#), showers, [access to legal resources, medical treatment](#), and visitation. As the strike by guards has grown, seven prisoners have now died and several prisons in New York have seen ongoing unrest and protests.

[The strike isn’t taking place in a vacuum](#), but against a backdrop of a growing anger at prison guards following the horrific and [brutal killing of Robert Brooks in December of 2024](#). [Many prisoners and support groups](#) are now decrying the strike by guards as a “distraction by officers who don’t want greater oversight.” Guards are [chiefly angry at:](#)



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Revolutionary Blackout
@SocialistMMA · Mar 7

There are countless horrific videos on Twitter right now of the Syrian terrorist government brutally torturing and executing Alawites meanwhile corporate media is just smearing them as "Assad loyalists"

3 47 116 19K



Sahel Revolutionary Soldier
@cecild84 · Mar 7

 BURKINA Faso made a \$70 Million purchase of Ghana's Tema Multi Purpose Terminal and Hydrocarbon depot:

Burkina Faso has just acquired the Tema Multi-Purpose Terminal Hydrocarbon Depot in Ghana, this will enable the landlocked nation to acquire a port for fuel storage.

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Jailhouse Lawyers Speak -
@JailLawSpeak · Mar 7

The World Bank has become the latest Western entity to attack South Africa's Black Economic Empowerment policy. The country's affirmative-action initiative aims to address apartheid-era injustices



World Bank Goes After South Africa's Black Empowerment Policies - African Stream
The World Bank has become the latest Western entity to attack South Africa's Black Economic Empowerment policy. The country's affirmative-action initiative aims to address apartheid-era injustices by enabling historically marginalised Black people to participate in the ec...

0 1 2 267



J.L.H.R.N
@lawyers_l89063 · Mar 7

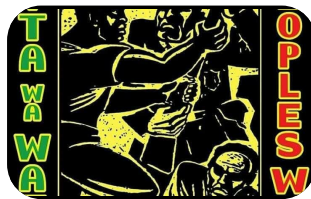
2 weeks later COs made him kill himself. They would give him food saying it was spit in. He was forced to stay naked. Denied showers. No rec. No calls home. They told him to kill himself over and over since he was never leaving lockup.

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Jailhouse Lawyers Speak -
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Vita Watu



0 0 3 239

[T]he Humane Alternatives to Long-Term Solitary Confinement Act or HALT, that place[s] some limits on the use of solitary confinement in state prisons. The guards staged the work stoppage, which affected all but one of the 42 state prisons, based on their claim that the minimal limitations on the use of this barbaric practice shifted the balance of power between them and the inmates in favor of the latter. The unspoken subtext is that it weakened the guards' ability to impose control by terror, supposedly creating an unsafe environment for them.

In addition to opposition to HALT, which the union has sought to repeal from its inception, the immediate trigger of the guards' wildcat strike was the indictment of 10 guards and other prison staff in the brutal beating resulting in the death of a 43-year-old inmate, Robert Brooks, at the Marcy Correctional Facility, near Utica, last December. The incident was unintentionally recorded on guards' body-cams.

As Gothamist reported:

As incarcerated people report deteriorating conditions because of the walkouts, the guards protesting outside have voiced several grievances of their own. In interviews with public media, many of the strikers blamed the problems on the 2021 HALT Solitary law, which limits the amount of time a person can be held in solitary confinement and requires due process before a commitment can begin. It also mandates that any incarcerated individual be allowed at least four hours out of their cells each day and bars staff from putting pregnant and disabled prisoners in solitary confinement... Corrections officers and their supporters argue that the law makes it harder for them to maintain discipline and segregate violent people from the general population.

The [HALT Solitary law] measure's supporters, however, argue that solitary confinement is akin to torture, and that

restrictions on it are necessary to shield incarcerated people from excessive cruelty in the system. Before the law's passage, prisoners could be confined to a cell for up to 23 hours a day. HALT supporters were outraged when, on Thursday, DOCCS Commissioner Daniel Martuscello suspended provisions of the law in a memo to the striking officers.

"What rights are we going to suspend next?" said Jerome Wright, a previously incarcerated man and now co-director of the HALT Solitary Campaign, who blamed Hochul for allowing the directive. Wright said the provisions of HALT haven't been fully implemented, and abuse remains common across the prison system. He argued the walkouts are a distraction from the indictments handed up this week in the Brooks case.

The Community Resource Hub has produced a short explainer looking at the guard "strike" in the New York prison system that's led to the National Guard being sent in. At least two uprisings have also taken place in the NY system in recent weeks, at Collins Correctional Facility and Riverview. At Riverview, prisoners "took control of multiple dormitories for several hours."

SEVEN prisoners died during a 2 week wildcat strike by New York state prison guards who wanted to overturn aspects of the HALT act limiting solitary confinement - the latest a 22 year old whom other prisoners say was brutally beaten by guards: www.nytimes.com/2025/03/04/n

— Piper French (@psfrench.bsky.social) 2025-03-04T10:32:06.884Z

As the New York Governor and the labor union representing the prison guards has negotiated an end to the strike, this has led to the New York DOCCS suspending the HALT Solitary Confinement Act. As one call to action explains:

On February 20th, the Department of Corrections and Community Supervision

(DOCCS) initiated widespread lockdowns and canceled personal and legal visits indefinitely at all New York State prisons, further isolating incarcerated people and cutting them off from the vital support of loved ones and attorneys, and illegally indefinitely suspended provisions of the HALT Solitary Confinement Act, a law passed by a supermajority of lawmakers and signed by the Governor.

Incarcerated people are locked down in their cells upwards of 24 hours a day, and are suffering delayed or denied access to food, medication, mental health and medical care, heat, electricity, showers, commissary, religious services, college and educational classes and other vital programs and basic needs. These denials of basic rights and necessities are on top of ongoing rampant staff physical and sexual abuse of incarcerated people. Now, they are also being denied the basic human right to see and speak with their families and legal counsel - and, for those in solitary, even fellow incarcerated people.

The suspension of provisions in HALT and cancellation of visits follows an unlawful work stoppage and accompanying protests by rogue corrections officers who abandoned their posts, causing grave harm to people in New York's prisons, imperiling people's health and lives, and compelling the Governor to deploy the National Guard to do their jobs for them.

The timing of this strike is no coincidence. The actions of these corrections officers are an attempt to sabotage necessary reforms and shield themselves from accountability for violence they perpetrate inside prisons. It is intended to deflect attention from a moment of reckoning for New York's violent prison system and culture of impunity as DOCCS' officers have just been charged for their brutal torture and murder of Robert Brooks at Marcy Correctional Facility.

Robert Brooks was a 43-year-old Black father with a family and

community who cared deeply about him. As seen by the business-as-usual manner in which officers and medical staff tortured and killed Robert on video, his murder was not an anomaly but emblematic of routine racist brutality inflicted throughout New York's prisons and jails. For years and decades, officers have beaten and killed Black people in New York's prisons - including [Leonard Strickland](#), [Samuel Harrell](#), [Karl Taylor](#), [Terry Cooper](#), [John McMillon](#), and countless others - and yet the racist system of brutality continues unabated.

There have been countless investigative reports of a ["scourge of racial bias"](#) and [routine and frequent brutal beatings covered up](#) by locking people in solitary confinement on false charges. Even just since Robert's killing, there have been reports of other people beaten and killed by officers and people being locked down systematically.

[Another collective letter on solitary confinement in the NY system can be found here.](#) At the time of this writing, the New York Governor has announced a tentative agreement, ending the strike. According to the [New York Times](#)

On Thursday, Gov. Kathy Hochul announced that [the state had reached a deal](#) with leaders of the corrections officers' union to end the work stoppage by Saturday. The deal included a 90-day suspension of a state law that restricts the use of long-term [solitary confinement](#); limits on mandatory overtime for officers; and a promise not to discipline guards who returned to work before the deadline.

In the meantime, visits by inmates' lawyers, family members and friends have remained discontinued along with nonessential medical appointments, early release programs and prisoner classes.

Late last year, guards at Marcy Correctional Facility were captured on body-worn cameras [beating a handcuffed man to death](#), a jarring episode that

advocates for inmate rights and prison watchdog groups said reflected a widespread culture of brutality behind the walls of the state's prisons.

And on Saturday, another inmate at a facility across the street, [22-year-old Messiah Nantwi](#), died after an incident in which other inmates said he was beaten by corrections officers. Eleven corrections staff members involved in the incident were placed on administrative leave while the State Police and other agencies investigate the death, said Thomas Mailey, a prisons spokesman.

Early on, at Auburn Correctional Facility west of Syracuse, an inmate named Jonathan Grant pleaded for medical attention, other prisoners said, but help never came. On Feb. 22, Mr. Grant, 61, who had a history of strokes, was [found dead in his cell](#).

Mason Earle, a 26-year-old inmate at Auburn, described another incident during the strike when someone in his unit began having chest pains. Mr. Earle said he and others shouted for help until the man was taken away in a wheelchair. A short time later, his cell was cleared out. It was not clear what became of him, but soon after, officials announced another death at the facility, that of Jeffery Bair, 40, who was found unconscious in his cell on Feb. 24 and could not be revived.

...[S]ome prisoners began falling ill during the strikes, prompting other inmates to shout in unison, "Medical emergency! Medical emergency!" and bang on the cell gates to get the attention of anyone who could help. Mr. Colon said at least three men were wheeled out of his unit after medical episodes. When prisoners at Sing Sing were let out for recreation after a week of being confined to one unit, one of them, Anthony Douglas, 66, remained behind. He was found hanging dead in his cell just after 4 p.m. on Wednesday. Four hours later, another man, Franklyn Dominguez, 35, died after he, too, was found

unresponsive in his cell.

Political Prisoner News

[Long-term Indigenous political prisoner Leonard Peltier has finally been released to home confinement after 49 years of incarceration.](#) You can [watch Leonard's homecoming speech here](#), as well as [a press conference with Leonard's attorneys here](#), and [a welcome home event hosted by the NDN Collective](#). Check out a report here from [Unicorn Riot](#).



In less positive news, [antifascist prisoner Alex Stokes recently had his sentence upheld in court, and the Upstate Correctional Facility where he is held is currently on lockdown.](#) You can write to him at:

Alexander Contompasis 22B5028
Upstate Correctional Facility
PO Box 2001
Malone, NY, 12953

[Chicano anarchist prisoner Xinachtli recently published a statement](#) speaking on the People's Tribunal on Rojava vs Turkey.

The *Rattling the Cages* series of talks continues, with anarchist ex-political prisoner Eric King recently hosting an event titled "Abolition is a Family Affair" bringing together his own family with those of Russell Maroon Shoatz and Laura Whitehorn. [You can watch it here:](#)

[The next event in the series will be "Looking Back at the George Jackson Brigade."](#) and will go live on March 22nd. Eric King and Josh Davidson also [recently appeared on The Beautiful Idea podcast to discuss anti-repression and prisoner support organizing. Printable zines of all previous Rattling the Cages](#)

is widespread resistance.

Get together with the people that you trust. Build networks with others who feel the way you feel. Identify weak points in the ruling order and look for ways to go on the offensive.

When Trump tried to impose the Muslim ban in 2017, thousands blocked airports across the country. When millions filled the streets in 2020, Trump lost control. We can deal with Elon Musk by cutting off his profits at the source. Start with Tesla.



Crimethinc. Ex-Workers
@Crimethinc@todon.eu · Feb 25

One year ago today, Aaron Bushnell set himself on fire at the gate of the Israeli embassy in Washington, DC as an act of protest against the ongoing genocide of Palestinians in Gaza.

The scale of the tragedy in Gaza exceeds anything we can understand from the United States. Aaron was determined not to passively accept it.

Today, in Aaron's memory, let us pledge ourselves once more to solidarity with Palestinians—to fight against genocide, ethnic cleansing, and all forms of colonialism.

In this memorial, we share Aaron's summary of his anarchist politics, with testimony from his friends.

<https://crimethinc.com/AaronMemorial>

In Aaron's own words:

"I am an anarchist, which means I believe in the abolition of all hierarchical power structures, especially capitalism and the state... I believe that any hierarchical power structure is bound to reproduce class dynamics and oppression. Thus, I want to engage in egalitarian forms of organizing that produce horizontal power structures based on mutual aid and solidarity."

In the words of one of Aaron's friends,

"Aaron has permanently changed the fabric of your being. You know this because for the rest of your life, you will wrestle with the thought of what you will sacrifice for the liberation of others."



Crimethinc. Ex-Workers
@Crimethinc@todon.eu · Feb 24

"The Only Immigrant Trying to Steal My Job Is Elon Musk"

<https://crimethinc.com/busdriver>

A bus driver speaks about what Elon Musk's austerity measures mean to ordinary public transit workers.



Jailhouse Lawyers Speak -
@JailLawSpeak · Jul 16

Mutual Aid can be directed directly towards the inside people led Prisoners Human Rights and Jailhouse Lawyers networks/projects by cash app \$ arebelsworld or Venmo @ arebelsworld



Jailhouse Lawyers Speak -
@JailLawSpeak · Mar 12

Housing unit at Pa. federal prison evacuated due to airborne issue.

Four employees at the Allenwood Federal Correctional Institution were taken to a hospital Wednesday after an airborne substance was detected in a housing unit.



Housing unit at Pa. federal prison evacuated due to airborne issue
Four employees of the Allenwood medium-security prison were treated at a hospital.

Jailhouse Lawyers Speak -
@JailLawSpeak · Mar 9

Numerous Chicago police officers stationed outside a Tesla dealership, this is in response to potential protests or vandalism, reflecting heightened security measures amid tensions involving Elon Musk and Tesla.

Police are really about: protecting corporate interests #abolition

Jailhouse Lawyers Speak -
@JailLawSpeak · Mar 7

Zionist are racist and genocidal.

All this shit is nothing more than white supremacy

@therealmfive.bsky.social
@MRFIVEINC · Mar 6

THIS SATURDAY: Rally at Sing Sing Correctional Facility to demand an end to the systemic murders, brutality, and racism that plague our prisons. Departing at 8:30am from Brooklyn heading to Sing Sing!

RSVP:



CrimethInc. Ex-Workers
@CrimethInc@todon.eu •
Mar 1

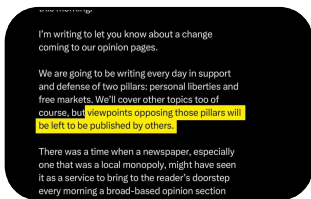
The power grab that Donald Trump and Elon Musk are carrying out in Washington, DC is just one aspect of a much bigger phenomenon. At every level of society, executives are asserting totalitarian control over whatever they can get their hands on. We are seeing the emergence of a caste of billionaires who no longer believe that they need to preserve any veneer of democracy.

Trump and Musk are the ones who are currently attracting the most attention, but behind them are Jeff Bezos, Peter Thiel, Marc Andreessen, and many more. The individual character flaws of these men are beside the point; the significant thing is that the mechanisms of neoliberal capitalism are systematically concentrating power in the hands of people who are completely disinterested in others' agency or well-being.

This is why milquetoast centrism cannot offer a convincing alternative to the despotism of the fascists and technocrats.

Become an anarchist or forever hold your peace.

<https://crimethinc.com/becomeanana/>



CrimethInc. Ex-Workers
@CrimethInc@todon.eu •
Feb 28

Today, on the two-year anniversary of a train crash in Greece that killed 57 people, a general strike took place to protest the complicity of the authorities in the conditions that caused the accident.

In the morning, many hundreds of thousands of people gathered in Athens. After the speeches ended,

tens of thousands of people engaged in conflict with the police all afternoon, including anarchists, students, and football supporters.

The train crash was the result of the same kind of capitalist kleptocracy that is afflicting people in the United States and elsewhere around the world. The more power the capitalist class concentrates in their hands, the more the rest of us will be exposed to danger in train and airplane crashes, pandemics, climate disasters, and other catastrophes. This is inevitable when there are vast disparities in wealth and power.

Like those in the streets of Athens, we must become capable of defending ourselves.

For background on the reigning right-wing government in Greece:

<https://crimethinc.com/Exarchia>



CrimethInc. Ex-Workers
@CrimethInc@todon.eu •
Feb 28

We've produced a zine version of "Become an Anarchist or Forever Hold Your Peace":

<https://crimethinc.com/zines/become-an-anarchist-or-forever-hold-your-peace>

Please print and distribute!

"Anarchists seek to bring about a situation in which no politician or billionaire, elected or not, could ever be in a position to cut off essential resources to millions of people with the flick of a pen. This is a profounder commitment to freedom, equality, and the well-being of the general public than one can find within the halls of any government."



CrimethInc. Ex-Workers
@CrimethInc@todon.eu •
Feb 27

The Ex-Worker podcast: It's Safer in the Front

<https://crimethinc.com/exworker110>

Seeking safety by avoiding confrontation is not likely to be an effective strategy in a time of escalating political conflict.

In this audio zine, we present a series of anecdotes from the original rise of fascism in Germany to various anarchist mobilizations spanning the 21st century, all of which bear out the seemingly counterintuitive slogan "It's safer in the front."



CrimethInc. Ex-Workers
@CrimethInc@todon.eu •
Feb 26

This Saturday, March 1, people will gather at Tesla outlets around the country to demonstrate against Elon Musk's efforts to consolidate autocracy. This is an opportunity to point to the origins of authoritarianism in the capitalist economy.

Here is a flier design you can print and distribute:

<https://crimethinc.com/posters/depos:depose-musk>

Using the market to exploit us and state violence to control us, Elon Musk and Donald Trump are trying to consolidate power in the hands of a billionaire elite. They want to establish a totalitarian dystopia in which artificial intelligence does away with our livelihoods while killer robots keep us in line. By targeting undocumented people and trans people, they hope to channel anger towards those who are most vulnerable while they get away with murder.

The only thing that could stop them

[talks can be found here](#), and [all previous talks can be watched through the Firestorm Books youtube page](#).

Peppy, a long-time activist facing charges stemming from a protest against an anti-LGBTQ+ bigot, has been moved to a new facility in Ohio. Supporters can [write to him here](#):

Brian DiPippa #66590-510
FCI Elkon
P.O. Box 10
Lisbon, OH 44432

[Mongoose Distro has published new writing by anarchist and reproductive rights prisoner Caleb Freestone](#), which is [available as a printable zine here](#). You can [donate to help support Caleb here](#). From Caleb:

Mississippi really is beautiful. The crab grass planted at the prison's construction is losing a protracted war to clover, wild lettuce, dandelion, and these gnarly purple flowers unknown to me. There are ancient trees in the distance, painted skies in the mornings and evenings; birds and skunks defy the barbed wire as voles excavate their burrows below. Yazoo City once burned to the ground thanks to the ghost of a witch burned at the stake seeking revenge. The rebuilt downtown was ravaged again by Walmart and now stands abandoned. Humans have not fared well here since Europeans brought genocide to the land. Yet that evil has only soaked as deep as the roots of the alien grass being routed by wild flowers yearning to be free.

I read. I write. I pretend heating instant noodles is cooking. I work out. I sift through the lies on CNN and Fox. I dream. I speak of the world as it could be. But mostly I learn. Here in the rotting carcass of this empire, there is such creativity, resilience, faith; we practice mutual aid and solidarity every day. We know who the enemy is. "Nothing in prison is free" was the first and biggest lie from a guard. Our

bodies may not be free, but most of our possessions were gifts from one another, paid for in gratitude and reciprocity. The only things for sale are restricted or banned. Artificial scarcity is key to capitalism. Everyone is worse off for having come here, yet there are valuable lessons in the extraordinary nature of our humanity. These lessons are simply disdained by a society which worships domination and greed.

The First Step Act and Good Time Credit will qualify me for release on April 10, 2025 as long as I am not written up. But they will hold me months past this date. The Second Chance Act already qualified me for a halfway house the day after I arrived. However, they keep making up excuses to delay the paperwork. The BOP has no discretion - these Acts are law. In practice, the BOP holds folks as long as they can. Over incarceration lawsuits will not win enough to cover lawyers' fees unless one has been illegally held for over a year too long. So I remain in the belly of the beast at Yazoo City, Low 1, separated from my spouse and my community along with 1,100 others who deserve dignity and liberation as well. Meanwhile, states are criminalizing abortion and "fake clinics" continue to trick and manipulate folks from seeking actual medical care.

Please consider writing me, recommending books, sharing the details of our case, speaking up for bodily autonomy and the abolition of prison, distributing copies of this essay, and supporting my spouse and I:

chuffed.org/project/visitcaleb

Cashapp - \$JadeF64

Instagram -
@FTLauderdaleFoodNotBombs,
@SolidarityFTL

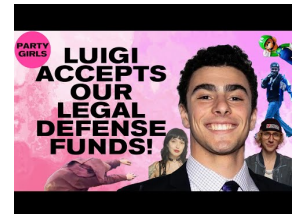
Write to Caleb here:

Caleb Freestone #07786-506
FCI Yazoo City Low
P.O. BOX 5000
Yazoo City, MS 39194

The support team for Mexican Indigenous anarchist prisoner Miguel Peralta are fundraising or his legal costs, and [recently organized a fundraising raffle](#).

[Atlanta IWOC recently held a successful fundraising drive to help Virgin Island 3 prisoner Hanif Shabazz Bey](#) stay connected and able to pay for phone calls.

Ongoing Cases



[Luigi Mangione recently accepted nearly \\$300,000 of crowdfunded donations from the December 4 Legal Committee](#). Check out [Party Girls](#) for more info on this development.

[Midwest Books to Prisoners recently published a call to support Dandelion](#), who is currently going through the court system.

[The New Republic recently published a major article on the Atlanta Cop City RICO charges](#). For those who can't access the article due to paywalls, [a paywall-free version can be found here](#). From the article:

When the SWAT team beat down his front door in the early hours of May 31, 2023, Marlon Kautz's first thought was that it was a mistake. His second thought was that he might die.

From his bedroom, Kautz heard the officers debating whether or not to toss a flash-bang grenade into the living room. The house was surrounded by officers in tactical gear, toting assault rifles, from the Atlanta Police Department and the Georgia Bureau of Investigation. Kautz shouted to the officers that he was coming out, his hands raised. "We kept repeating that we were unarmed," he told me, as he and

his roommates walked out of their rooms as calmly as possible. They were immediately arrested, placed in separate squad cars, and taken to jail, where they were held for the next four days as police “ransacked” their house, searching for evidence to support their case that the group had engaged in charity fraud and money laundering in connection to the “Stop Cop City” movement, a sprawling protest and activism campaign aimed at halting the construction of the massive Atlanta Public Safety Training Center outside the city.

Kautz, alongside his roommates and colleagues Adele MacLean and Savannah Patterson, are members of a nonprofit organization called the [Atlanta Solidarity Fund](#), which has supported local protest movements since 2016 by providing arrested activists with bail funds and legal resources. Their case is an extreme example of how a motivated and militarized government can crack down on protest, dissent, and the civil rights of everyday citizens en masse.

In Atlanta, the raid was a response to [years of activism](#) against police violence surrounding “Cop City,” the center’s nickname. But in conversations with *The New Republic*, legal experts and activists alike said that, in Donald Trump’s second administration, what happened that morning in Atlanta may soon play out all over the country. While our new and former president is known for his high-profile spats with boldface [media names](#), the second Trump administration’s assault on free speech won’t start with CNN but with hundreds, if not thousands, of activists like Kautz across the country, as federal forces seize the precedent that repressive state governments like Georgia’s [have been using](#) for years. That dystopian future isn’t far away: New [legislation](#) in Congress and new legal cases against groups outside of Georgia show that the right is already devising new tools to stamp out what scant agency Americans have left.

“What’s happening in Atlanta is a vision of the future,” Kautz told me. “This is a test run of a [repressive] playbook that authorities on many different levels are experimenting with to discover what they can get away with.”

In other Cop City news, the *Atlanta Community Press Collective* has a report up about Jamie Marsicano, who is launching a federal lawsuit against the Atlanta Police Department. From the [report](#):

Attorneys de Janon and Drago Cepar, Jr. filed the lawsuit on behalf of Jamie Marsicano in the United States District Court for the Northern District of Georgia. It asserts six different civil rights claims, including for violations of the First and Fourth Amendments, against the City of Atlanta and individual defendants with the Atlanta Police Department (APD), the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, and the Department of Natural Resources, among other agencies. The complaint alleges that “defendants were recklessly and callously indifferent to [Marsicano’s] federally protected rights.”

Marsicano, who alternatively uses she/her and they/them pronouns, was arrested on March 5, 2023, during a multi-agency police raid of a music festival in Atlanta’s South River Forest, or the Weelaunee Forest by its Mvskoke name. Marsicano and 22 others arrested that night were charged with domestic terrorism and later with violating the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO) in a sweeping indictment that resulted in racketeering charges against 61 people alleged to be part of the Stop Cop City protest movement.

The complaint alleges that APD Chief Schierbaum created a policy of pursuing “pretextual criminal charges against ‘Stop Cop City’ protesters.” The policy has resulted in “an express instruction” that officers with APD and other agencies arrest

and charge Cop City protesters, “particularly if they are close or present at the Weelaunee Forest,” according to the complaint.

Read the [full report here](#). Lastly, there is a [new report about surveillance cameras being put up outside of the homes](#) of Stop Cop City activists.

[The Incarcerated Workers Organizing Committee is asking people to support Bobby Mason](#), a Diné Warrior detained in Flagstaff for alleged actions against uranium mining and transportation. Legal funds can be sent via Venmo to @DNW91 or through <https://pay.telmate.com/ui/#/depos> and by choosing inmate number 202501018.

[A Louisiana grand jury has issued an arrest warrant for Dr Margaret Carpenter, a New York doctor who allegedly prescribed abortion pills online to a pregnant Louisiana minor](#), as well as the pregnant minor’s mother.

There’s a [call for people to support Atlanta Forest defendant Vienna Forest](#), whose IDs remain confiscated making it impossible for her to work. Donations can be made to [@ccwillneverbb via venmo](#).

AI and Policing

[In Saint Louis County, Missouri, Chris Gatlin spent 17 months held in pre-trial detention after an AI facial recognition programme identified him as an assault suspect](#). The assault victim had initially pointed to two other people during a photo line-up as looking more like the suspect, and told reporters, “I felt I was being pointed into something.” Gatlin is now suing the police department over the 17 months he was incarcerated without any real evidence.

Trans Prisoners Under Attack

[A lawsuit filed by several trans women held in the federal prison system seems to be holding up Trump’s plan to move trans prisoners](#). On February 24th, US

they are associated with. If a person of any gender has to outdo all other contenders in demonstrating traditionally masculine characteristics in order to get a foothold in politics, gender oppression remains in effect even if not everyone in a position of power is a man.

Finally, abolish gender gatekeeping. Do away with the boundaries that control who can identify with any gender. Defending trans identity, gender nonconformity, and other departures from fixed binary gender is a step towards this goal.

Against patriarchy—for the free flourishing of all!



CrimethInc. Ex-Workers
@CrimethInc@todon.eu •
Mar 7

We’ve just received the fourth printing of our introduction to anarchism, To Change Everything.

This text explores why authoritarian structures cannot solve the crises they produce and how to weave our personal revolts together into a collective struggle for liberation.

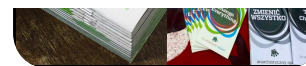
This printing brings the total number of English-language copies in circulation to 225,000. The text is also available in 32 languages, including European and American versions of both Spanish and French.

You can access the text online here:

<https://crimethinc.com/tce>

You can order print copies here in bulk, for the costs of paper and postage alone:

<https://store.crimethinc.com/products/change-everything>



CrimethInc. Ex-Workers
@CrimethInc@todon.eu •
Mar 4

We keep hearing a binary narrative in which criminal oligarchs are undermining the rule of law.

It would be more precise to identify three camps:

—centrists who fetishize the rule of law as a good in and of itself;

—oligarchs aiming to overhaul the current courts and laws to be even more brutal;

—and those who reject both camps in favor of real freedom and equality.

In the first camp, we find those who believe that a certain amount of self-determination is acceptable, as long as it falls neatly within whatever laws happen to be on the books. They are also at ease with a wide range of ruthless self-seeking oppressive activity, provided it complies with the law.

In the second camp, we find those who are determined to consolidate power in their own hands, regardless of what laws happen to be on the books. Donald Trump, Elon Musk, and their various capitalist and fascist backers aim to replace the current laws and courts with something even worse.

In the third camp, we find those who believe that regardless of what laws happen to be on the books, no one should be able to dominate anyone else—whether by hoarding access to resources or wielding the instruments of state repression.

There is no excuse for tyranny.

<https://crimethinc.com/becomeanana>



CrimethInc. Ex-Workers
@CrimethInc@todon.eu •
Mar 4

As Donald Trump’s tariffs go into effect, imposing gratuitous financial burdens on ordinary people on both

sides of the borders, it’s important to remember that the original resistance to neoliberalism came from anti-capitalists who wanted to “make the earth a common treasury for all,” not reactionary nationalists trying to return to the Gilded Age.

At the high point of the movement against capitalist globalization, hundreds of thousands of protesters repeatedly shut down global trade summits in order to call for a more equitable distribution of resources and agency. Anarchists were at the forefront of this, calling for the reinvention of the commons.

Neoliberals and neoconservatives banded together to suppress this so-called “anti-globalization” movement by brute force. As a result, nationalists like Trump were able to pretend to be the only alternative to neoliberalism.

But the nationalists only offer an even more brutal form of capitalism, as we are seeing today.

Even if their model succeeds neoliberalism as the new global order, that will not be the end of the story. Capitalism will render the earth uninhabitable, or we will abolish it. The struggle continues.

<https://anarchistagency.com/trump-and-the-legacy-of-the-anti-globalization-movement/>



CrimethInc. Ex-Workers
@CrimethInc@todon.eu •
Mar 3

In March 1921, an uprising on the island fortress of Kronstadt brought the conflict within the Russian revolution to a head, pitting those who desired to reorganize life via horizontally organized workers’ councils [soviets] against those pursuing a one-party dictatorship.

Want to understand the values and goals of the participants in the Kronstadt revolt? The best place to start is to read the daily paper they produced. We’ve published all fourteen issues here in translation:

<https://crimethinc.com/Kronstadt>

terms of the ideological content it pushes as well as in terms of some thorny issues it conspicuously sidesteps such as the involvement of the so-called "gang" structures in building the strike.

For more information on the strike, [go here](#).

Announcing the UPROAR Network

The new network initiated by Kevin "Rashid" Johnson, initially called People Against Prison Abuse, has now changed its name to United Prisoners & Relatives Organizing Against Repression (UPROAR). They write that their principles are:

1 - Direct confrontation: we don't just advocate, we organize, resist and apply pressure.

2 - Families as a force: this is a movement led by prisoners and their loved ones, not by detached NGOs, not-for-profits, or career activists.

3 - Inside-Outside-Unity: we connect the struggle inside to generate pressure outside, breaking the isolation prisons depend on.

4 - Material Resistance: we expose repression, mobilize communities, and dismantle systemic abuse not just describe it.

With this new name change we want to build UPROAR into an inside/outside prisoner support movement that will genuinely bring change to conditions within Amerika's razor wire plantations. Join us and help make a powerful and loud UPROAR!

To get into contact [go here](#).

Phone-Zaps

IDOC Watch has organized a [phone zap in response to a lockdown at Plainfield Correctional Facility](#), as well as one in response to [freezing conditions at](#)

[Buckingham Correctional in Virginia](#).

Lucasville Uprising Prisoners

Lucasville Uprising prisoner Keith LaMar was recently interviewed by TruthOut about The Injustice of Justice, a new animated short film that he narrated.

Tommie Blackmon, another prisoner convicted after the uprising, was recently moved, and is looking for donations to help him replace items lost during the move. You can reach out to him at:

Tommie Blackmon #185-291
Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Correction
Mail Processing Center (OMPC)
884 Coitsville-Hubbard Road
Youngstown, Ohio 44505

Greg Curry, another Lucasville prisoner, has published a statement aimed at explaining his criminal record following the the uprising.

Vaughn 17

An event was held in February at the Black Workers Center in DC, celebrating the anniversary of the Vaughn prison uprising. The event also served as a soft release for Jarreau "RUK" Ayers' upcoming book.

Vaughn 17 prisoner Alejandro "Ajay" Rodriguez-Ortiz recently suffered the loss of his mother, and was unable to attend a wake for her due to being attacked by the CERT team and moved to isolation as revenge for giving an interview to a journalist. [You can donate to help support the Ortiz family through this time here.](#)

Sundiata Freedom Campaign Jawanza

Sundiata Jawanza, a long-term jailhouse lawyer and incarcerated organizer held in the South Carolina system, is up for parole this year. From his website:

1. Host a Letter Writing Circle:

- Mobilize your community to write letters in support of Sundiata's parole. Every letter counts in the fight for justice.
- Send your letters to:
South Carolina Department of Probation, Parole and Pardon Services
293 Greystone Boulevard,
Columbia, SC 29210
P.O. Box 207, Columbia, SC 29202
 - Deadline: May 19, 2025 - Get your letters in by the deadline!
 - *Submit your support letter online: [Support Parole](#)

Get Involved

- Organize Local Letter Writing Circles: Gather your community to host letter writing events.
- Spread the Word: Share this flyer far and wide.
- Stand Up for Liberation: Your collective voice can help secure Sundiata's freedom.
- Mutual Aid: Give funds to Sundiata's legal, communication and initiative costs - [Unchain Sundiata Jawanza](#)

For more information contact: [FreeJawanza@protonmail.com](#)

Pendleton Uprising Anniversary

The Defense Committee to Free the Pendleton 2 have put out a call for events to mark the 40th anniversary of the uprising at Indiana State Reformatory, now Pendleton Correctional Facility. They write:

On February 1, 1985, people held captive at the notoriously racist maximum-security Indiana State Reformatory rose up to stop the murder of a beloved jailhouse lawyer and political prisoner named Lokmar Abdul-Wadood Yazidi, who was being beaten to death by white supremacist guards. The white supremacist guards were organized into a clandestine cell in the prison called the Sons of Light, which included many high ranking officers, and regularly brutalized Black prisoners without cause. Only a few months later, in

DHS officials around half past eight as he was entering the Columbia residential building he lives in.

After refusing to sign the nondisclosure agreement, Khalil reportedly said the university put a hold on his transcript and threatened to block him from graduating. But when he appealed the decision through a lawyer, he said, they eventually backed down."

[https://www.dropsitenews.com/p/dhs-detains-columbia-university-student-gaza](#)



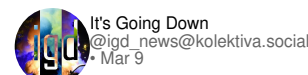
Nazi saluting Elon Musk + the GOP are pushing the anti-Semitic conspiracy theory that billionaire George Soros is behind [#TeslaTakedown](#) protests.

We lay out how the far-Right weaponizes conspiracy theories in an attempt to attack grassroots movements here:

[https://itsgoingdown.org/george-soros-globalism-far-right-explains-revolt/](#)



Soros, 'Globalism,' and Grassroots Revolt: How the Right Uses Conspiracy Theories to Appear Revolutionary
In the 1990s and into the early 2000s, a global movement against corporate globalization and neoliberal capitalism developed, with anti-auth...



"His total net worth is down \$121 billion from its peak in December, when the company had a market capitalization well in excess of \$1 trillion — the gains of a post-election rally wiped out entirely, with the stock price tumbling 38 percent just since Trump's inauguration. This downturn comes as warning signs of an imminent recession continue to multiply."

[#TeslaTakedown](#)

[https://www.rollingstone.com/culture/features/musk-tesla-backlash-protest-1235288504/](#)



'Musk's Involvement in Politics Could Be the Downfall of Tesla'
Tesla is facing protests, arsons, and ridicule as Americans outraged by Elon Musk's actions in the Trump administration poison the brand...



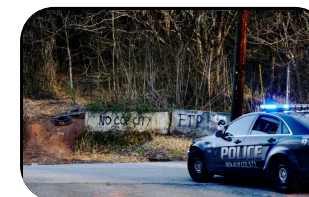
Cop City Is Everywhere

Learning from the Movement to Defend the Forest

[https://crimethinc.com/CopCity2025](#)

The movement to stop Cop City and defend Weelaunee Forest was one of the most important social struggles of the Biden era. Its trajectory tells us a lot about the challenges we confront today under Donald Trump.

In the final chapter of our chronology, we trace the movement's concluding phase, beginning in 2023 and ending with Trump's arrival in power, and explore what we can learn from it.



We honor the courage of the protesters arrested at Trump Tower in solidarity with Mahmoud Khalil.

Christian Nationalists aim to make themselves the arbiters of what counts as antisemitism in order to dehumanize Palestinians, discipline Jews who refuse to support genocide, and pave the way for fascism.

Trump made this clear enough yesterday, when he declared that a Jewish politician from the opposition

had "become a Palestinian" by disagreeing with him.

Just as white nationalists justify racist violence by claiming to be "protecting women," Christian nationalists are attempting to use accusations of "antisemitism" to justify crackdowns, deportations, and genocide. Don't fall for it.

[https://crimethinc.com/MahmoudKhal](#)



Dictatorship by used-car salesman.

Declining profit rates have driven capitalists to focus on market speculation. Both Elon Musk and Donald Trump have made their fortunes chiefly by hype.

Now they are perpetrating this scam at the highest level of political power, using the instruments of the state to promote their products. Elon Musk is transferring \$100 million to Donald Trump in return for this car commercial.

But what goes up must come down. The more wealth and power they concentrate in their hands, the clearer it is to everyone else that the system that elevated them deserves to be destroyed.

[https://crimethinc.com/busdriver](#)



We've prepared a poster promoting our film, *Fell In Love With Fire*, which documents the uprising that swept Chile from October 2019 to March 2020. The film shows how everyday people sustained six months of

"Hundreds of protesters gathered in Newark on Tuesday to decry a plan to bring a massive federal immigration detention facility to New Jersey." [#NewJersey #MeltICE](#)

<https://patch.com/new-jersey/newark/nhundreds-protest-against-reopening-ice-detention-facility-newark>



Hundreds Protest Against Reopening ICE Detention Facility In Newark
President Donald Trump says a "large-scale invasion" is taking place. These New Jersey immigrants and their supporters are pushing...



CNN reporting Trump preparing to invoke the Alien Enemies Act, same draconian law used to justify rounding up Japanese people during WWII.

"The Trump administration is expected to invoke...[t]he little-known 18th-century law, the Alien Enemies Act of 1798..."

<https://www.cnn.com/2025/03/13/politi-enemies-act-deportation-consideration/index.html>



Trump expected to invoke wartime authority to speed up mass deportation effort in coming days | CNN Politics
The Trump administration is expected to invoke a sweeping wartime authority to speed up the president's mass deportation pledge in the com...



Jewish demonstrators in [#NewYork](#) are flooding into Trump Tower to demand the release of Mahmoud Khalil.



Organizers with the Los Angeles Tenant Union (LATU) and authors of "Abolish Rent" speak with [@thebeautifulidea](#) about autonomous tenant organizing and the fight against landlords.

<https://itsgoingdown.org/abolish-rent-a-discussion-with-tracy-leo-abolish-rent/>



Abolish Rent: A Discussion with Tracy Rosenthal and Leonardo Vilch from the the LA Tenants Union
In this episode of The Beautiful Idea, we speak with Tracy Rosenthal and Leonardo Vilchis, two tenant organizers in Los Angeles, CA, involve...



"ICE Chasers are volunteers, who maintain vigilance about ICE sightings in the areas they live in and report it to the wider ICE Chasers network. According to Aguilar, ICE Chasers form a "rapid response team" that keeps the community informed in real-time."

<https://atipresscollective.com/2025/03/the-ice-chasers-the-rapid-response-team-keeping-communities-informed-on-ice-sightings/>



Meet the ICE Chasers: the rapid response team keeping communities informed on ICE sightings - Atlanta Community Press Collective
ICE Chasers in Georgia are organizing a grassroots response to fear, deportations, and attacks on migrants.



"Right now we need to both break the illusion of normalcy and our reliance on spontaneous uprising. We need to deliberately shatter the illusion that what's happening is okay. We need to show that what the regime is doing is wildly abnormal by acting like it, en masse. Organized people, in our unions and political formations, have the power to show the country and world that this fascist attack is an emergency by treating it as one, by refusing to go along with it, by intentionally creating moments of crisis for the regime instead of waiting for them to happen of their own accord. No spontaneous revolution is arriving, no perfect moment is coming, the only tipping point is the one we create."

<https://www.jpill.com/p/dont-wait-for-the-tipping-point>



"On Saturday night, Department of Homeland Security (DHS) agents entered a student residential building at Columbia University in uptown New York and detained Mahmoud Khalil, one of the lead negotiators on behalf of pro-Palestine protesters at 2024's Gaza solidarity encampment. In a sweeping attack on the First Amendment, the Trump administration said this week it would begin revoking visas of "Hamas sympathizers," specifically citing Columbia University students. The detention followed a two-day targeted online campaign against Khalil by pro-Israel groups and individuals, including Columbia's high-profile pro-Israel professor, Shai Davidai.

Khalil, an Algerian citizen of Palestinian origin and an American green-card holder, was detained by

French v. Owens, the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals found the prison to have been violating the 8th Amendment Constitutional rights of all people in custody there over a period of several years, by subjecting them to cruel and unusual punishment in the form of "overcrowding and double-celling, unwholesome food, excessive use of mechanical restraints, medical neglect, and continuous threats to inmates' safety."

The Pendleton 2, John "Balagoon" Cole and Christopher "Naem" Trotter, led a group of concerned prisoners in stopping the Sons of Light from killing Lokmar, and then they were forced to take over a cell house with hostages in order to prevent the guards from killing them too. A stand-off ensued which lasted about 16 hours, with a negotiated end that left everyone involved alive.

Two years later, Balagoon and Naem were wrongfully convicted by an all-white jury in a town run by the Ku Klux Klan and their ilk. They were sentenced to 88 and 142 years, respectively, and then thrown into solitary confinement and held there illegally for decades.

The Defense Committee to Free the Pendleton 2 is calling for actions in solidarity with the Pendleton 2 on or around the 40th Anniversary of the Uprising, which is coming up on February 1, 1985. Solidarity actions could include a screening of the documentary The Pendleton 2: They Stood Up, an event to write letters to the P2 to keep their spirits up and keep the pigs off their backs, a banner-drop, or a rally! Reach out to us if your organization or group is putting on an action for the Pendleton 2 and we will feature it on our website and social media! Email us about your action at thependleton2@gmail.com.

Events organized in support of the 2 so far have included a [letter-writing night in Bloomington, Indiana](#), and a [film showing in Washington, DC](#).

Death Penalty

A number of death row inmates have recently had success with legal challenges. [Richard Glossip, a prisoner on Oklahoma's death row](#), has been granted a new trial by the Supreme Court. In North Carolina, [Hasson Bacote has had his death penalty sentence overturned after showing in court that racial discrimination played a significant role in his original trial](#). [Jessie Hoffman, a Louisiana prisoner who is due to be executed in March](#), has just submitted a new federal complaint against Louisiana's use of nitrogen hypoxia in executions.

General Prison News and Abolitionist Media Updates

[The Nebraska prison system has recently adopted full mail digitization, meaning that the addresses for sending mail to all Nebraska prisoners have changed](#). For instance, to send mail to [Fran Thompson](#), you would need to write to:

Fran Thompson #93341
Nebraska Correctional Center for Women
Nebraska Department of Correctional Services
P.O. Box 247
Phoenix, MD 21131

[The Appalachian Rekindling Project, an Indigenous organization in Eastern Kentucky, recently purchased land on the site of a proposed Federal prison](#), blocking construction on the FCI Letcher site. The land was acquired with support from [Building Community Not Prisons](#), another group working to resist the proposed new prison.

[Jailhouse Lawyers Speak are currently fundraising for a jailhouse lawyer being released from the North Carolina prison system](#), with donations to be sent via cashapp or venmo to arebelsworld. They are also asking for advice about transitional housing options in the Macon, GA area that will take in a mother and child.

The parents of Al'Mir Harris, a prisoner who died from medical neglect at Baldwin State Prison, Georgia at the end of 2024, [have started a petition calling for prisoners to have more protection against medical neglect](#).

[Kevin "Rashid" Johnson reports that prisoners at Red Onion State Prison in Virginia continue to set themselves on fire in the hope of being transferred](#), months on from when the story began to attract outside interest. He has also written on [the Virginia prison system's attempts to control the story and censor his access to outside media](#).

Texas prisoner Jason Renard Walker continues to publish writing exposing abuses in the Texas prison system, including [a recent suicide at the Powledge Unit](#), [the effects of meth addiction in prison](#), and [a new rule allowing prisons to punish prisoners for use or possession of "unknown substances"](#), which means that they can discipline prisoners without having any need to actually prove the use of drugs.

[Mongoose Distro recently published a letter to ODRC director Annette Chambers-Smith from anarchist prisoner Sean Swain](#), as well as [new collage art from Kit Brixton](#).

[It's Going Down recently published a new interview with Tempestad](#), an anarchist and ex-prisoner living in Mexico City.

[Jailhouse Lawyers Speak have shared a report from a prisoner at Ware State Prison](#), Georgia, who writes: "The warden & cert staff @ ware state prison goes to these guys and asked how to stop the violence. So these take it upon themselves to come together and create peaceful dormitories with no violence. Now that it's no violence in the dormitories. Now they come back and tell since it's no violence. We going to pack y'all up and move y'all to a new dormitory where it can potentially start some violence. Somebody make this make sense to me. I'm convinced that GDC is helping start these gang wars and violence. This need to be investigated!"

JLS commented: "Perfect example on how prisoncrats play on people in prison that want less violence. Prisoncrats give room for people inside to end the violence, when they're under pressure, then turn right back around to disturb it once obtained. This happens across the country time and time again."

[IDOC Watch have published an article on the case of Antonio D. Jones](#), who has served 21 years after being wrongfully convicted in spite of evidence clearing him.

[Uncorn Riot report that a new source has come forward with evidence about the innocence of Philip Vance](#), who was wrongfully convicted of a 2002 murder in Saint Paul.

International

Samidoun continues to cover the mass releases of Palestinian prisoners, including [183 prisoners freed on February 1st](#), [369 prisoners freed on February 15th](#), and [620 prisoners freed on February 22nd](#). They also report that the [Palestinian Authority has stopped payments to prisoners' families](#).

The final decision in the case of Georges Abdallah, a Lebanese revolutionary prisoner held in France who was due to be released on appeal, [has now been postponed to 19 June](#).

[Salvatore Vespertino, an Italian anarchist who escaped after being given an eight-year sentence for the 2017 attack on a fascist bookshop, has been arrested in Spain](#).

Francesca Nadin, a UK prisoner held in pre-trial detention for alleged participation in actions against Israeli arms company Elbit Systems, has published a new article, ["I am a political prisoner, not a hero." A Running Down the Walls event was recently held in Manchester](#), raising nearly £600 for the Filton 18 prisoners. There's also [a call to support Sean Middlesbrough and Jordan Devlin](#), two pre-trial Palestine solidarity prisoners who are wrongfully listed as convicted instead of pre-trial, meaning that they are being held in worse conditions.



The British branch of IWOC are organizing a solidarity campaign for [Kevan Thakrar](#), a UK prisoner held in brutal conditions of long-term solitary confinement. There's also [a call for letters and emails in support of Ryan Roberts](#), a prisoner serving a 14-year sentence from the Kill the Bill movement in 2021, who requires urgent medical attention. Ryan's supporters are asking for people to send them cute/silly/fun pictures to send on to Ryan, which [can be sent via DM to ftss.28 on instagram](#), or emailed to [ftss2028\[at\]gmail.com](#).

[A gathering in solidarity with Casey Goonan was held in Connemara, Ireland](#).

[Greek anarchist prisoner Dimitris Chatzivasiliadis has published a new text](#) calling for a revolutionary union of anarchists. [A new zine of letters from the anarchist struggle in Greece](#) is available on archive.org, and [The Final Straw Radio](#) recently interviewed a member of the Solidarity Fund for Imprisoned and Persecuted Revolutionaries, or [Tameio](#), on the ongoing Ampelokipoi case and repression in Greece.

[In Finland, graffiti has been painted in solidarity with Ola](#), held since November 2024 on charges connected to an action against Elbit Systems.

[Russian anarchist prisoner Ruslan Siddiqui has shared a first-hand account of his actions to sabotage the war machine, as well as his torture at the hands of the state](#).

[ABC Belarus have published an overview of repression against](#)

[anarchists and anti-fascists in 2024](#), and [a more detailed collection of news from anarchist prisoners in November-December](#).

[A rally was held at the prison in Chemnitz, Germany, in support of Nele, an anti-fascist facing extradition to Hungary as part of the ongoing Budapest Antifa case](#).

Uprising Defendants

See [Uprising Support](#) for more info, and check out [the Antirepression PDX site](#) for updates from Portland cases. You can also check [With Whatever Weapons](#) for regularly-updated zines listing current prisoners. To the best of our knowledge they currently include:

[Tyre Means 49981-086](#)
USP Victorville
US Penitentiary
P.O. Box 3900
Adelanto, CA 92301

[Margaret Channon 49955-086](#)
FCI Tallahassee
P.O. Box 5000
Tallahassee, FL 32314

[Malik Muhammad #23935744](#)
Snake River Correctional
777 Stanton Blvd
Ontario, OR 97914

[Montez Lee 22429-041](#)
FCI Ray Brook
Federal Correctional Institution
PO Box 900
Ray Brook, NY 12977

[Matthew White #21434-041](#)
USP Terre Haute
PO Box 33
Terre Haute, IN 47808

[Matthew Rupert #55013-424](#)
USP Big Sandy
US Penitentiary
P.O. Box 2068
Inez, KY 41224

[José Felan #54146-380](#)
FCI Terre Haute
Federal Correctional Institution
P.O. Box 33
Terre Haute, IN 47808

[David Elmakayes 77782-066](#)
FCI McKean
Federal Correctional Institution
P.O. Box 8000

The accompaniment is often very personalized around certain cases of compas in the struggle, but it is clear that the prison is still there, even if some of us are released.

Organizing on the inside is complicated by the mafias and drug trafficking, the powerful groups are not hesitant or afraid in what they do.

IGD: You were detained for a common crime. This configured into the dynamics of solidarity around your case. What do you think about this distinction between common and political prisoners? How do you think the different movements in Mexico can better take on an anticarceral attitude and practice, beyond the idea of just or unjust imprisonment?

Yes, I was imprisoned for a robbery outside of a strictly "political" context. I never denied my participation, although the accusations that were made against me were different than the reality of the action. There wasn't any regret. Many people refused to accompany me as, voluntarily or not, they made a MORAL distinction between "common prisoners" and "political prisoners."

To ask for a "revolutionary credential" to know whether someone deserves prison or not is to present oneself as a judge, and that is the foundational belief of prison society.

From anticarceral praxis, being sent to prison is understood from the outset as a political act. It is political because it transgresses a socially imposed limit, because it is a clash with the law, with order. This is not to say that all illegal acts are ethical or desirable, but it is a starting point to understand the function of prisons.

Some movements take up the banner of "innocent prisoners" because if they didn't, they wouldn't have support from certain organizations and much less from "civil society." With this discourse the idea of just and unjust confinement is reinforced, which is another pillar of prison society. Confinement is then considered a

solution to social problems, when in reality it is a method of torture and punishment against whatever dissident or "enemy" of society.

On the one hand, it is a topic that we can discuss with less urgency and more in the abstract, dialoguing and questioning: what type of support is needed? Why is there selective empathy for certain cases and indifference to others? Do we only think about freedom for one compa, about a pathway to a world without prisons, or both? Do I demand prison for those who have violated me? If we don't believe in prison, what type of justice can we construct? There are many questions, and the responses can go on forever.

On the other hand, we need to position ourselves in front of real concrete cases. There are many collectives and groups that are afraid to take a position on this, and that is where the silence begins. It is more common to see individuals acting alone who aren't beholden to the politics of certain organizations, that is where I see more possibility.

IGD: What is the current status of your case? And your co-defendant Brandy? In what concrete ways can folks show their support?

I was released beneath certain conditions. I have to continually check in and sign for the rest of my sentence and fulfill other bureaucratic requirements on certain days of the week. This has affected my daily life of course. It is as if I can't truly enjoy myself because of the limitations that have been forced upon me. I haven't been able to recuperate my time and my activities. It is one more step but it can't go unnoticed that all prisoners face trauma after leaving prison. In prison, so much is taken away from us, so many tiny, unquantifiable aspects of our existence. After almost seven months free, I still feel that I have lost irretrievable ground in terms of my autonomy and confidence.

In Brandy's case, the TRIAL is still open and ongoing. This is a double-edged sword because it is possible that he wins his absolute freedom or

he can lose it and be returned to prison.

There was a raffle recently to collect funds to cover legal expenses that are on the horizon. There will also be some other activities and actions that still don't have dates. A fanzine is also circulating, "Narrativas desde el encierro," that he wrote in prison in the *Reclusorio Oriente*.

A way of supporting is being attentive to when his trial begins because it will be stressful for him: people can send a message, a letter, accompany him during the court hearings, share information about his case, provide emotional and economic support. In these cases, of course money is fundamental. It is important that he is not abandoned in this struggle.

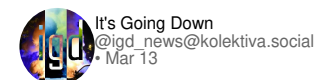
If you want to get in contact with him, you can write to him on Instagram at: @brranadrenaline.

Here also is the number of the BBVA Bank account in case someone wants to make a donation.
Cuenta Clabe:
012180015214659700.

I appreciate the space for dissemination, critique, and mutual feedback. Thanks to all those who resist prisons. Until the last cage is destroyed!

Freedom for Jorge Esquivel and total freedom for Brandy! Absolute freedom for Miguel Peralta! Freedom for Mónica and Francisco! Freedom for Cospito! Freedom for Juan Menchaca!

Fire to the prisons and the judges!



"Members of the Windy City Active Club include a USPS worker, a recent finance grad from DePaul, and a Polish American tied to other hate groups." [#Chicago](#)

<https://unraveledpress.com/exposed-white-nationalist-group-responsible-for-hate-spree-across-chicagoland/>

It's Going Down

to the psychological torture. If before it was non-negotiable to let oneself be ordered around or to be in charge, in prison at certain moments one has to stand firm, the spectrum between giving in and not doing so has its nuances, but the goal is always to not break or become corrupted.

In effect, the goal of prison is to break us, to make us believe that we deserve it, to make us believe that our lives don't belong to us. But as I lived with compañeras who had been in prison for five, ten, twenty years, I saw their tactics of escape, the ways in which they coped with confinement, in which they confronted the bullshit. I saw the tactics they used to recuperate at least a little bit of their freedom. In prison, like any other place, there are multiple forms of exercising control and multiple manners of resisting it.

Without a doubt, my political posture has changed. It has been nourished by the emotional ups and downs, of sharing experiences with women whose entire lives have been spent surviving prison.

It is not the same to say something as it is to do it. Our practices should be directed by our vision of the world, and we have to assert that vision in our practices, not only with words. Beyond the banners and labels, there is courage, strength, kindness. Taking paths to expand our freedom will undoubtedly lead us into situations of confrontation like this one as well as others. We have to be prepared.

Like the imprisoned compas in Chile say, nothing ends with prison. It is another space of struggle and conflict with authority, a battlefield, filled with manifestations of control and latent abuse. Being on the inside is a chance to demonstrate to them that we cannot be defeated. It is a chance to resist and to mock their chains, their stupid rules, and their double standards.

It is important to know their strategies. There is already a well-developed idea of what prison is, taboos and certain projections. We need to demystify that, to let go of

the fear, to not fall into their trap, to stop believing in their function.

IGD: *From your experience in prison, what advice might you give to folks who are supporting and accompanying prisoners? What types of support do you feel work well, and what others don't?*

I haven't directly participated on the other side of the relationship, but I understand that it is a struggle just as intense and exhausting as surviving on the inside.

These are some of the things I saw in people, friends and collectives that were with me and with other prisoners. Many of these things are already known, so maybe I am just reaffirming what has already been done and questioning others.

The economic support is fundamental, particularly at the beginning. Spreading information about the case; preserving strength because even if you don't want it to be so, the years pass by and the energy runs out.

Maintaining constant inside-outside communication so that what happens on one side of the prison walls can have a resonance and impact on the other; so that our actions become more and more intense and direct.

The legal aspect is important. At the beginning I went through four different lawyers and all of them sold us promises, they got my family's hopes up, even though they knew the seriousness of the problem. What they wanted was money and to take advantage of the situation.

For that reason, legal support from anarchist, antiauthoritarian, or solidarity lawyers is pivotal. People often think that fighting legally is just to play by their rules, but the anticarceral horizon makes use of a diversity of tools. If we don't know how the penal code functions, we are lost in a foreign language that operates on our lives.

So long as there are collectives and individuals who are willing to do this work, there is a chance to put up a fight. In our case, Alma Margarito was there, visiting us,

taking care of the paperwork, being present at the hearings. We also remember with affection and respect Pedro Saavedra "Bati."

The psychological and therapeutic support play a fundamental role for those who are on the inside and those who are accompanying prisoners as well. There are several collective texts made by compas who have gathered some of these experiences of providing support in cases of trauma and violence, to alleviate the wounds of confinement.

I was accompanied by zines such as "Entrenamiento físico en condiciones de encierro" and "Hierbas para la tristeza" by Nicole Rose. Heather Anne visited me every fifteen days for therapy. The long talks and discussions with the compas whose names I won't mention but who I've already let know of the importance of our conversations.



On the other hand, in Mexico "the anticarceral" is not present in the imagination of prisoners. We haven't done the necessary work of entering into prisons in a more constant manner and getting to know the people, of making and receiving calls, of writing letters to develop networks across prison walls. There is more of a presence of religious and Alcoholics Anonymous groups than there are of groups against patriarchy or groups of feminists.

To a certain extent this is explained by the welfare dynamics of these types of organizations and groups, and their search for followers.

Bradford, PA 16701

[Khalif Miller #70042-066](#)
USP Big Sandy
U.S. Penitentiary
P.O. Box 2068
Inez, KY 41224

[Alvin Joseph 1002016959](#)
Hays State Prison
PO Box 668
Trion, GA 30753

[John Wade #1003510744](#)
PO Box 3877
Jackson, GA 30233

[Aline Espinosa-Villegas #22814-509](#)
FMC Carswell
P.O. Box 27137
Fort Worth, Texas 76127

Address letter to Angel, address envelope to Aline A Espinosa-Villegas.

[Mujera Benjamin Lunga'ho #08572-509](#)
FCI Forrest City Medium
Federal Correctional Institution
P.O. Box 3000
Forrest City, AR 72336

[Christopher Tindal 04392-509](#)
FCI Cumberland
PO Box 1000
Cumberland, MD 21501

Upcoming Birthdays

Reverend Joy Powell

[As a pastor and a consistent activist against police brutality, violence and oppression in her community, Rev. Joy Powell was warned by the Rochester Police department that she was a target because of her speaking out against corruption.](#)
On many occasions Rev. Joy had held rallies and spoke out against the police brutality and "police justifications" in Rochester NY. As a result, Rev. Joy was accused and convicted of 1st Degree Burglary and Assault.

An all white jury tried her; the state provided no evidence and no eyewitnesses. Rev. Joy was not allowed to discuss her activism or say that she was a pastor. The person that testified for her was not allowed to tell the court that he knew Rev. Joy through their

activist work and through the church. Furthermore the judge Francis Affronti promised he was going to give her a harsh sentence because he did not like her. She was convicted and given 16 years and seven years concurrent.

The New York system uses Jpay, so you can send her a message by going to jpay.com, clicking "inmate search", then selecting "State: New York, Inmate ID: 07G0632".

Birthday: March 5

Address:

Reverend Joy Powell #07G0632
Bedford Hills Correctional Facility
P.O. Box 1000
Bedford Hills, NY 10507-2499

Kevan Thakrar

[Kevan Thakrar has been fighting for his life for the last 11 years after a wrongful conviction.](#) In 2008 at the age of 20 Kevan began serving a life sentence, with a minimum term of 35 years, under the highly controversial "joint enterprise" doctrine.

Kevan's refusal to submit to racist abuse from prison guards has made him a target for reprisals. Notably, in 2010 he suffered a premeditated attack in his cell by HMP Frankland guards. When he fought back he was charged with attempted murder and GBH, and put in solitary confinement, where in one form or another he remains to this day. The charges were sufficiently brazen that a jury cleared him unanimously in a rare victory against the testimony of prison officers.

Despite his success in court, Kevan has been isolated in Closed Supervision Centres (a 'prison within a prison') across the country. Closed Supervisions Centres are the most extreme form of imprisonment in the UK, modeled on the "supermax" prisons in the United States, and Kevan's testimony is one of the few sources of information available to those on the outside. They are the ultimate punishment in the British prison system and subject people within them to brutal dehumanisation, degradation and demonisation.

Kevan Thakrar is a key voice from inside the UK prison system today, writing extensively on the conditions endured by people held in the worst prisons in the country. He is an IWW/IWOC member and has worked closely with groups such as Bristol Anarchist Black Cross. You can read a recent article from Kevan, "[A Decade of Discrimination Amounting to Torture](#)", [here](#).

UK prisoners can be emailed using emailaprisoner.com

Birthday: March 9

Address:

Kevan Thakrar A4907AE
HMP Whitemoor
Longhill Road
March, PE15 0PR
England
UK

Ryan Roberts

[Ryan Roberts is a UK anarchist prisoner serving a 14-year sentence after fighting back against the police at a demonstration against a policing bill in Bristol in 2021.](#)

UK prisoners can be emailed using emailaprisoner.com

Birthday: March 14

Address:

Ryan Roberts A5155EM
HMP Swaleside
Brabazon Road
Eastchurch
Isle of Sheppey
ME12 4AX
UK

Azat Miftakhov

[Azat Miftakhov is a Russian anarchist who was arrested and tortured for allegedly breaking a window in an office of Putin's United Russia party, and has now been given a six-year prison sentence for this alleged act. If you wish to send a message to Azat, the best thing to do is probably to contact his support team at \[helpazat@miftakhov.org\]\(mailto:helpazat@miftakhov.org\).](#)

Birthday: March 22

Mikita Yemelyanau

Mikita Yemelyanau is an anarchist political prisoner from Minsk, Belarus, serving a four-year sentence for a sabotage action against a detention center and for throwing paint at a court. Both actions were in solidarity with Dzmitry Palijenka, another anarchist political prisoner. On 11 March 2022, Mikita was sentenced to 2 more years in prison for gross violation of prison rules.

Letters written in any other language than Russian or Belarusian may not reach prisoners in Belarus, but if you contact Belarus ABC at [belarus_abc\(AT\)riseup.net](mailto:belarus_abc(AT)riseup.net) or using [this online form](#), they can translate your message and send it on for you.

Birthday: March 24

Address (for Russian or Belarusian letters only):

Emelyanov Nikita Vladimirovich
ST-1, 230023 Grodno, ul. Kirova 1

cover photo via [Unicorn Riot](#)

The DOGE and the Neo-Reactionaries

March 3, 2025

Matthew Lyons at *Three Way Fight* looks at the the emerging Trumpian state, the growing role of Musk, the influence of Neo-Reactionary thinkers, and offers an analysis of DOGE.

by Matthew Lyons

I anticipated a drive toward dictatorship, but I didn't anticipate DOGE.

When Donald Trump was reelected president, I (like many other people) knew he would make a grab for power beyond anything in his first term. I've [traced](#) Trump's increasingly intimate relationship with far-Right politics, from his mutually beneficial arrangement with the alt-right in 2016 to his efforts in 2024 to remake the Republican Party itself as his personal vehicle. Like many other critics, I [noted](#) that the erosion of structural checks on presidential

power, coupled with supporters' years of planning on how to seize control of the federal bureaucracy, would make the second Trump term a lot more authoritarian than the first.

What I didn't expect was that Trump would subcontract the dynamic core of this authoritarian power drive to *another* narcissistic billionaire. That he would not only use Elon Musk's "Department of Government Efficiency" to attack the civil service but give its team of outside operatives carte blanche to seize semi-autonomous (and potentially lucrative) control over government agencies, databases, and payment systems. That just a few weeks after the inauguration, we'd be talking not just about a [coup](#), but a [Trump-Musk coup](#).

I don't know why Trump chose to do this, whether it was admiration for what Musk did to Twitter, Inc. or simple laziness. Or why so far he's been okay with having a deputy who continually threatens to upstage him, whether Musk is using bribery or blackmail or is just really good at stroking Trump's fragile, fragile ego. I don't know whether this alliance will last months or years or fall apart next week, and what will happen when it ends.

But setting personalities aside, from a political standpoint DOGE's role in the new regime's power grab points to two interrelated changes in the Trump project that deserve close attention:

- First, while MAGA movement ideology centers on right-wing populism, in that it combines supremacist attacks on various oppressed groups with distorted anti-elitism, DOGE is guided by self-described neoreactionaries, whose ideology glorifies elites and rejects populist appeals in principle.
- Second, while the first Trump administration was backed by an unstable coalition of competing capitalist interests, at this point high technology capitalists closely aligned with neoreactionary politics appear to be at the head of the pro-Trump business bloc.

These changes have helped make the second Trump presidency more dangerous than the first, but they also point to potential divisions and conflicts within the Trump coalition—vulnerabilities that might help us develop better and more effective resistance strategies.

Liberals and Democratic Party leaders are framing this resistance as a struggle to defend democracy. But the U.S. government has always been an oligarchy (to borrow a term from Joe Biden's [farewell address](#)), in which a tiny capitalist elite holds most political power and has co-opted mass support and wielded systemic violence to serve its own ends—from genocide against the indigenous peoples of North America to genocide against Palestinians. At the same time, generations of social movements in the U.S. have fought and won real political space and social reforms that have mitigated some of the system's worst effects. The Trump regime's dictatorial power grab threatens these gains. If left unchecked it will have massive human costs, disproportionately hurt oppressed communities, and sharply constrict the space for political activity, especially radical organizing.

Neo-Reaction's RAGEful Vision

Neo-reaction (not to be confused with [neoc conservatism](#)) has been around for almost two decades, but for most of that time it seemed an unlikely candidate to come anywhere near to reshaping the federal government apparatus. Here's some of what I wrote about the movement in "[Ctrl+Alt+Delete](#)," my 2017 report about the alt-right:

Neoreaction is another dissident right-wing current with a vision of small-scale authoritarianism that has emerged online in the past decade, which overlaps with and has influenced the Alternative Right. Like the Alt Right and much of the manosphere, neoreaction (often abbreviated as NRx, and also known as Dark Enlightenment) is a loosely unified school of thought that rejects

about the conditions in which we lived to giving a face and character to the people in prison.



It is not a strictly anti-prison publication. Each one of us had different opinions. We shared reality in that moment, but we had different opinions. There were conflicts, disagreements. We are not a collective or a stable group. Although we were four to six women who constantly wrote with the intention of demystifying state justice.

At one point we wanted to do interviews, but when the administration found out, they wanted to close down the workshop. There were occasions in which folks entered only to sabotage the space and make everyone uncomfortable.

The first time that the zine was printed and we got some copies into the prison, it felt really good. We all wanted a copy to share what we wrote. We also received letters from the outside, and that was crazy because many people think that we don't read their letters, although indeed we do.

We have a draft of the fifth edition of the zine which we hope to be distributing at the beginning of March. A couple of the writings are still only on paper in prison in Santa Martha. The idea is to continue editing and printing the zine with less frequency, but to continue cultivating this mode of resistance and construction. We decided not to share it on social media, as some of the texts have names and the compas are still in

prison with the boot on their neck for now.

If anybody wants to collaborate or share reflections, texts, poems, they can contact me directly on Instagram @tempestd13 or through micorriza on Instagram @la_micorriza, @Konspiracion_iconoclasta.

IGD: *Beyond collaboration on the fanzine, what other types of collective organization, mutual aid, collectivity did you see in prison among the prisoners? What were the relationships like?*

One survives in prison through sheer resistance, support, and organization mostly independent of the prison walls. In Santa Martha there aren't autonomous organizations as there are in other contexts and in other countries. In Santa Martha organized crime is mostly in control.

But on the micro level there are indeed certain networks of solidarity that function. Organizing a cellblock means coming to an agreement on how food is distributed, what work requires more effort, who makes the decisions, on whose shoulder do you lean when you need to cry, how much money and power is given to the prison guards.

Evidently, the preferred and the most habitual form of management of life is based in hierarchy: the strongest person rules, money rules. Yet, there are times when that way of doing things isn't sufficient, and acts of selfless mutual aid, solidarity, and empathy emerge.

For the visits, coordination and support are needed among the family members, who are usually mothers, grandmothers, aunts, and daughters.

Many times, the family members would befriend others in line waiting to enter the prison, and among them they would organize to get things in, to save their place in line, or buy supplies. In the end it was a network of favors that made the situation a little easier.

There are areas where mothers raise their children up to the ages of 4-6

years old. The raising of the children takes places collectively between the women, contrary to what many people think.

Prison is a hostile place and prone to suspicion, so the trust that was built between compañeras was not only important, but vital. The level of trust is what made the difference in order to survive.

For example, there was a considerable group of women from Colombia in the prison, who would organize between them to communicate with their families in Colombia. They would organize parties and other things, developing deeper bonds. Sometimes empathy derived from whether you were from the same neighborhood or colonia, let's say Morelos, Tepito, Santa Cruz, Santo Domingo, etc.

I want to clarify that not all the support was mutual, nor was it all without self-interest. In the end, money and power were at stake.



IGD: *You are an anarchist and you were involved in different social struggles before you were detained. How did your politics affect your time in prison? For you, what does it mean in practice to be an anarchist in prison?*

On paper we learn many things but when you have to live them in your own flesh you don't always know how to act.

At first, I was paralyzed. Every morning for a year I cried desperately because I did not understand what was happening. I was denying reality. Little by little I gathered my strength and trained myself emotionally to not let them beat me down so easily.

Communicating with my friends and the zines I was sent helped me maintain my strength to not give in

slept during the day so it passed by more quickly, and at night we would do artistic things, weaving palm fibers and drawing. We managed to exercise, to eat, to get through the hours that seemed to last forever.

I spent the following two years in Building B. There the days were more structured with mandatory cultural, sporting, school, and work activities. I found refuge in theater and physical training, selling bleach and chicharrónes. I got to know more or less the routine, and I had more confidence than other compañeras. During that time, I began the fanzine project, Turquesa. We tried to eat well and generate money to pay for our expenses. The idea was to maintain active because sitting around and waiting was torture, the body was always in suspense between hope and desperation

The last few months I spent in general population which was practically the same but with a blue uniform. I continued selling chicharrónes and bleach, and I worked in the cafeteria. I focused heavily on Turquesa, training, sharing with the compas. There were collective money saving programs to combat the economic violence in the prison, and we learned to live in the moment.

My mother never left my side, she was always there during the visits. Some friends were allowed to visit as well, which helped me stay strong.

I remember my 24th birthday. We made hotdogs and broke out the weed. Twerking and cumbia filled the hallways, everyone was dancing. It was a lot of fun for a prison.

I also remember when a friend gave birth to her baby. They transferred her to Tepepan-another women's prison here in Mexico City-to give birth. I was extremely anxious for her return and to see her with her new baby. It was such a joy to see the baby sleep so peacefully, knowing nothing of the prison bars or the laws.

The worst experiences I'd prefer not to remember. Sometimes I ask

myself if they really happened.



IGD: *You were in prison during the COVID-19 pandemic. How did the pandemic affect your life in prison?*

It was like living in a prison inside a prison. The courts were closed, so a lot of the legal processes were held up. The courts only operated to imprison more people; the prisons were filled up.

The visits were reduced from four days a week to one day a week, from six people who could visit to just one family member. There was no fresh air, no mobility in the hallways, no physical contact with your loved ones.

Every week they "isolated" entire cells for possible contagion, but they didn't attend to anyone's health. They just separated them without a medical check-up. There were deaths, even though they said there were not. From then on, the prison authorities didn't loosen the rules after the pandemic. The restrictions continued without any justification.

In 2023 around ten women began a hunger strike to regularize family visits, but nobody joined in. The strike was considered an "exaggerated act" among many of the inmates, and the prison authorities quickly pressured them into giving up their protest.

IGD: *In prison you collaborated on a publication Turquesa: Trasciendo Muros. Can you tell us about this project? How did the idea come about? What was its production process like? What were some of the major challenges and gratifications of the project?*

The idea came about during the first months between compas from different faraway places. I was sent fanzines from the outside and

publications of ex-prisoners, like "El Canero," along with other powerful texts from Spain, Chile, Argentina, and other places. We read enthusiastically because it was as if we had written them ourselves. We imagined everything that we could write and share from where we were located inside the prison of Santa Martha, and other prisons in Mexico City.

After a long process of "adaptation," I signed up for a writing workshop that began in September 2021. In reality the workshop was an excuse to have a space for self-reflection and organization. There were those who wanted a "class," but the majority of us went to get stuff off our chests, to talk shit about people and the prison, to read and write. Many writings and reflections came out of that time, but not all of them appear in Turquesa. We also developed comradery, certain unusual relationships, discussions, tears, laughs.

Turquesa was put together with the help of my mother who during every visit would bring copies and texts, or a USB drive which was prohibited. The compas of Micorriza edited and printed the zine on the outside.

One of the more powerful things was that nobody instructed us. Organizations regularly enter prison with "good intentions" and with the objective to "give voice" to prisoners, but they bring their own already formulated projects. Also, the secretary of the prison system encourages writing workshops but it uses the organization and work of the prisoners to justify their discourse of rehabilitation and treatment.

In Turquesa we wrote what we wanted without any third-party interference. There wasn't any external funding or recognition, it was our personal expression. Eventually the reflections deepened, we went from telling each other how shitty the prison guards were using their first and last names, to criticizing the idea of the police; from sharing information about our legal cases to thinking about justice more generally in Mexico and beyond; from writing

egalitarianism in principle, argues that differences in human intelligence and ability are mainly genetic, and believes that cultural and political elites wrongfully limit the range of acceptable discourse. Blogger Curtis Yarvin (writing under the pseudonym Mencius Moldbug) first articulated neoreactionary ideology in 2007, but many other writers have contributed to it. Neoreaction emphasizes order and restoring the social stability that supposedly prevailed before the French Revolution, along with technocratic and futurist concerns such as transhumanism, a movement that hopes to radically 'improve' human beings through technology....

"Neoreactionaries, who are known for their arcane, verbose theoretical monologues, appear to be mostly young, computer-oriented men, and their ideas have spread partly through the tech startup scene. PayPal co-founder and Trump supporter Peter Thiel has voiced some neoreactionary-sounding ideas....

"[Unlike many alt-rightists,] neoreactionaries all regard regular people as utterly unskilled to hold political power—a 'howling irrational mob' as NRx theorist Nick Land has put it. Some NRxers advocate monarchy; others want to turn the state into a corporation with members of an intellectual elite as shareholders.

In the same report, I noted that neo-reactionaries were less likely than alt-rightists to support Donald Trump and might or might not share most alt-rightists' commitment to white nationalism and antisemitism, but also that many alt-rightists regarded neo-reaction as "a related movement that offers many positive contributions." Alt-rightist Gregory Hood (Kevin DeAnna) described neo-reaction, perhaps presciently, as "absolutely core to understanding...how power functions." I however concluded that neo-reaction seemed "too esoteric to have much of a political impact" on its own. My mistake.

In the interval, the alt-right as a

significant force has collapsed, yet neo-reactionary ideology and Curtis Yarvin's ideas specifically have continued to percolate and spread within the tech world and beyond, such that James Pogue in a 2022 Vanity Fair article described them as "foundational to a whole political and cultural scene." Peter Thiel and other venture capitalists such as David Sacks and Marc Andreessen have boosted NRx's rise. Vice President JD Vance, a former Thiel employee whose 2022 U.S. Senate run was heavily funded by Thiel, has cited Yarvin as a political influence, and the two are or have been friends.

Many of Yarvin's pronouncements over the years closely foreshadow what the Trump regime, and DOGE specifically, have been doing. From that 2022 James Pogue article:

[T]he way conservatives can actually win in America, [Yarvin] has argued, is for a Caesar-like figure to take power back from this devolved oligarchy and replace it with a monarchical regime run like a start-up. As early as 2012, he proposed the acronym RAGE—Retire All Government Employees—as a shorthand for a first step in the overthrow of the American 'regime.' What we needed, Yarvin thought, was a 'national CEO, [or] what's called a dictator.'

As journalist Gil Duran notes, "Elon Musk's DOGE is just a rebranded version of RAGE. He demands mass resignations, locks career employees out of their offices, threatens to delete entire departments, and seizes total control of sensitive government systems and programs."

Duran goes on to quote a 2022 Yarvin essay that envisioned a "butterfly revolution" under a second Trump administration: "We've got to risk...a full reboot of the USG [U.S. government]. We can only do this by giving *absolute sovereignty to a single organization*—with roughly the powers that the Allied occupation authorities held in Japan and Germany in the fall of 1945." As Duran notes, "The World War II metaphor casts the federal

government as a conquered enemy now controlled by an outside force."

In this "revolution," Yarvin proposed:

Trump himself will not be the brain ...He will not be the CEO. He will be the chairman of the board—he will select the CEO (an experienced executive). This process, which obviously has to be televised, will be *complete* by his inauguration—at which the transition to the next regime will start *immediately*.

"...The CEO he picks will run the executive branch without any interference from the Congress or courts, probably also taking over state and local governments. Most existing important institutions, public and private, will be shut down and replaced with new and efficient systems. Trump will be monitoring this CEO's performance, again on TV, and can fire him if need be.

Duran notes that JD Vance, tech entrepreneur Balaji Srinivasan, and the Heritage Foundation's *Project 2025* all also proposed a systematic purge and dismantling of the federal bureaucracy. Yet the specific similarities between Yarvin's proposal and DOGE's role within the Trump regime are too striking to ignore. While I'm not aware of any direct links between Musk and Yarvin, several of the young men staffing DOGE have either worked for Thiel or expressed neo-reactionary views.

But despite its impact on the current Trump regime, neo-reactionary politics is not MAGA politics, as the tagline to James Pogue's 2022 *Vanity Fair* article noted. The key reason is that neo-reaction is not populist. The movement to Make America Great Again, Trump's political base, is a classic example of right-wing populism, i.e., a movement that combines calls to intensify oppression with twisted forms of anti-elitism. MAGA politics is about defending privilege and attacking those who are seen as threatening it from below, but it also feeds on people's sense of disempowerment, of being beaten

down by a few people on top, a belief that those in power have betrayed “we the people” and must be stripped of their positions.

Neo-reactionaries, by contrast, believe firmly that elites should rule and “the people” (Nick Land’s “howling irrational mob”) should not. Since Trump first entered the 2016 presidential race, MAGA aimed to mobilize a mass movement to overturn the political establishment, liberal and conservative alike. This initiative included not just electoral campaigns but also broad-based organizing and physical protests that culminated in the January 6, 2021 attack on the U.S. Capitol in hopes of overturning the 2020 election results by force. But neo-reactionaries dismiss the whole idea of a popular uprising. As Yarvin [wrote](#) in June 2024, “Charlottesville [the 2017 Unite the Right rally] and January 6 were the last lame breaths of what John Adams called ‘mobocracy’ in America.” What Yarvin envisioned wasn’t a popular uprising, but rather to “hack” the system in order to break it.

Tech Capitalists Turn Toward Trump

The neo-reactionary movement is rooted in the computer technology sector, and its growing influence has been closely tied with tech capitalists’ shift toward the political right. These developments have altered the Trump administration’s relationship with the business community.

As I have [discussed](#) before, in 2016 “Trump’s support within the big business community was—for any president and especially a Republican one—unusually limited, fragmented, and unstable.” As one team of analysts [argued](#), his capitalist supporters drew from “several layers of investor blocs with little in common other than their intense dislike of existing forms of American government.” Partly for this reason, Trump’s administration pushed policies that appealed to both supporters and opponents of neo-liberalism, rolling back environmental regulations and

taxes for corporations and the wealthy on one hand, but restricting immigration and trade on the other. Trump’s weak and disunified capitalist support also contributed to his administration’s oscillation between interventionist and anti-interventionist approaches to foreign and military policy.

This situation changed in 2024, as former Democrat Elon Musk [donated](#) almost \$200 million toward Trump’s reelection and became one of his closest advisors, while high technology business leaders as a bloc swung behind Trump. Tech CEOs Mark Zuckerberg (Meta), Jeff Bezos (Amazon), Sundar Pichai (Google) and its parent company Alphabet), and Musk [held seats of honor](#) at Trump’s January 2025 inauguration, symbolizing their sector’s new role at the center of the pro-Trump business faction. Also in 2024, billionaire investors in cryptocurrency and in the TikTok social media platform [became supporters](#) of Trump’s reelection campaign, leading Trump to switch from opposition to support on both of these issues.

Lots of people have offered explanations for these tech sector shifts toward Trump. Here’s a helpful summary from Aaron Bartley on Facebook:

1. The techno-feudalists have billions invested in crypto and without a big push from the government and the removal of all regulations, their money will be lost. Crypto has not mainstreamed in the way they expected, both because of Biden-era regulations on speculative investments and because the public just isn’t into it. They need the state to manage the transition to crypto.
2. Similarly, they’re gravely concerned about the trillions they’ve invested in AI [artificial intelligence]. Any amount of regulation or constraints by the state is seen as a death-knell. They know that AI has prompted a speculative bubble and they need the state to manage the bubble through subsidies and contracts. They also need the state to aggressively shield the US from

Chinese AI technology.

3. Both crypto and AI are burning up the earth. The electricity demands of both AI and crypto are enormous. They need a completely deregulated energy industry and rapid shift away from any climate policy. Even the mention of climate change is a threat to their fortunes.

4. China has caught up faster than they expected in all realms of tech. They need an ultra-protectionist/nationalist regime to keep Chinese technology at bay.

Another factor is that newish tech firms such as Anduril Industries and Palantir Technologies (both bankrolled by Peter Thiel) as well as Musk’s SpaceX are increasingly challenging traditional military manufacturers such as Lockheed Martin, Boeing, and General Dynamics for Pentagon and Homeland Security contracts. Longtime military policy analyst Michael Klare argues that “a new MIC [military-industrial complex] is being born, one that potentially will have very different goals and profit-takers than the existing one.” Klare sees a growing divide “between costly manned weapons made by traditional defense contractors and more affordable unmanned systems made by the likes of Anduril, General Atomics, and AeroVironment,” with political consequences for the Trump coalition: “Most Republican lawmakers, who generally rely on contributions from the old MIC companies to finance their campaigns, are bound to support the major prime contractors in such a rivalry. But two of Trump’s key advisers, J.D. Vance and Elon Musk, could push him in the opposite direction.”

Points of Weakness

Musk’s DOGE is at the cutting edge of Trump’s drive to expand presidential authority and shred the principle of checks and balances that has been a cornerstone of the U.S. government since its founding. The initiative aims to both drastically shrink the administrative

libertad absoluta o perderla y regresar a la cárcel.

Recientemente se hizo una rifa para sacar los gastos legales, además habrá algunas actividades y acciones aún sin fecha. También se está moviendo el fanzine “Narrativas desde el encierro” que escribí en el Oriente.

Una manera de apoyar es estar al pendiente en cuanto inicie su juicio porque serán días de mucha tensión: puede ser un mensaje, una carta, ir a hacer un trámite o acompañar en las audiencias, difundir, apañar emocional y económicamente, ya que en estos casos el dinero es parte fundamental. No lo dejemos solo en esta batalla.

Para cualquier información también pueden escribirle directamente a su IG: @brranadrenaline

También dejo el número de cuenta BBVA para cualquier aporte económico a nombre de Brandon Cuenta Clabe 012180015214659700

Agradezco el espacio de difusión, crítica y retroalimentación. Abrazos a quienes resisten la cárcel. Hasta que caiga la última jaula!

Libertad para Jorge Esquivel y libertad total para Brandy, libertad absoluta para Miguel Peralta, libertad a Mónica y Francisco, libertad a Alfredo Cospito, libertad para Juan Menchaca

Fuego a la cárcel y sus jueces!

Interview with Tempestad, Anarchist and Ex-Prisoner in Mexico City

February 25, 2025

Interview with Mexican anarchist and ex-prisoner Tiara Tempestad on their experience doing almost four years in prison in Mexico City, a fanzine project they were involved with on the inside, prisoner solidarity and resistance to prisons. The interview in Spanish can be

found [here](#).

IGD: Can you start off by presenting yourself? Who are you, where are you from, in what were you up to before you were taken to prison?

It’s a pleasure to share my voice from physical freedom, to be able to greet folks face to face and be able to hug my friends. I am Tempestad, I currently live in Mexico City. Like everyone else, I had a life before I was detained, I had one inside prison, and now I am living life post-prison.

IGD: You were detained in August 2020 in Mexico City. Can you tell us about the first days and weeks in prison? What advice might you have for folks who face prison to survive their first days?

Being imprisoned is a shock. It’s like entering a world with entirely different dynamics. The first week in prison I was held incommunicado. They had me in isolation because of COVID. Afterwards they moved me to the dormitories.

I remember during the first few days, “Rondin” (a special security force) scolded me for staring out the window and onto the street. After a week, and three failed court hearings, I was hit with a “carcelazo,” a brutal anxiety crisis when I realized that I was not going to get out. I also had conflicts with compañeras for the way in which they were organizing the cell.

From the very beginning, the prison guards and some other women are determined to scare you into submission, to get money from you, or to make you look like a monster. Other compañeras try to uplift your spirit and comfort you, but they are just as broken as you are. Those early days are difficult. In addition, you have to deal with the legal situation. You are afraid of what is being said in hallways and by the lawyers. You enter into a state of uncertainty and vulnerability, you live on the edge.

It is important to be realistic and recognize that you are not going to get out the next day. At least in Mexico, legal processes last from at

least three months to two years. It is difficult to put aside hope, but doing so reduces the uncertainty along with the possibility that you and your networks will be abused, economically and emotionally.

The body is on alert. It is a moment to examine the terrain: review the different networks of power and the implicit rules of coexistence, safe spaces, shelters, tricks. You can hold onto anything to maintain relatively firm: memories, beliefs, fictions, your loved ones, yourself.

It is a mental battle, losing your freedom is a type of pain. There isn’t a “correct” way or manual on how to react.



IGD: On July 1, 2024 you were released from prison after spending three years and ten months behind bars. What was day to day life like on the inside? What were you doing to stay busy and healthy? What were some of the worst and best moments?

The question of how you organize your life depends a lot on the area and the building you are in. The internal rules are really strict.

The “candado” (when they open and close the cell) was at 7:00am and 7:30pm. The rest of the time we spent inside the cell chatting, watching TV, reading, dancing, sometimes fighting, discussing, cleaning, washing clothes, there were also drugs, moments of tranquility and others of being fed up.

I was in Building A for a year. I was only allowed access to the patio for one hour a day and another hour for cleaning. There were 10-15 of us in the same cell for 23 hours straight. It was crazy. We usually

legal de abogadx anarquistas, antiautoritarias, y solidarios. Muchas veces se piensa que es jugar con las mismas reglas, pero el horizonte anticarcelario se vale de varias herramientas. Sino conocemos como funciona el código penal actual estamos perdidos en un lenguaje desconocido que opera sobre nuestras vidas.

Mientras existan colectivos e individualidades que se rifen ese trabajo, se tiene un chance de hacerle frente. En nuestro caso, estuvo Alma Mergarito, visitándonos, encargándose del papeleo, y presente en las audiencias. También recordamos con cariño y respeto a Pedro Saavedra “Bati”.

El apoyo psicologico-terapeutico, juega un papel fundamental, para quienes están dentro y quienes acompañan. Hay varios textos colectivos hechos por la banda, que sistematizan estás experiencias para dar contención en casos de trauma y violencia, para aliviar esas heridas del encierro.

Me acompañaron zines como “entrenamiento físico en condiciones de encierro”; hierbas para la tristeza de Nicole Rose; Heather Anne entraba a verme cada quince días para la terapia; las largas pláticas-desahogos con lxs compas que no menciono, pero de frente les he hecho saber lo significativo que fueron sus palabras a la distancia.



Por otro lado, en México “lo anticarcelario” no está presente en el imaginario de unx presx; no nos hemos aventurado a chambas más

constantes de entrar a las visitas y conocer a la gente, de llamar y recibir llamadas/cartas para formar redes intra muros. Hay más presencia de grupos de religiosos y de Alcohólicos Anónimos que grupos antipatriarcales o feministas. Hasta cierto punto se explica por sus dinámicas asistencialistas y buscar adeptos.

Se ha personalizado el acompañamiento a partir del caso de compas de lucha, pero claro está que la cárcel sigue ahí, aunque unxs cuantxs salgamos libres.

La organización al interior se complejiza por las mafias y el narcotráfico, los grupos de poder no se tientan.

IGD: *Te detuvieron por un delito común. Esto configuró la dinámica de solidaridad en torno a tu caso. ¿Qué opinas de esta distinción entre presx común y presx polítix? ¿Cómo crees que los movimientos en México pueden asumir mejor una actitud y práctica anticarcelaria, más allá de esta idea de encarcelamiento justo o injusto?*

Sí, me detuvieron por un delito de robo fuera de un contexto propiamente “político”. Nunca negué mi participación, aunque las acusaciones que se nos hicieron fueron diferentes a la acción. No hubo un arrepentimiento. Mucha gente se abstuvo de acompañar ya que, voluntaria e involuntariamente, hacían esta distinción MORAL entre “presxs comunes y presxs polítixs”.

Pedir el “carnet revolucionario” para saber si mereces la cárcel o el apoyo es erigirse juez, y esa es una creencia base de las sociedades carcelarias.

Desde una praxis anticarcelaria se entiende que caer en cana es, de entrada, un acto político. Es político porque se transgredió un límite socialmente impuesto, porque es un encontronazo con la ley, con el orden. Esto no quiere decir que todos los actos ilegales sean éticos o deseables, pero es el punto de partida entender la función de la cárcel.

Algunos movimientos agarran la bandera del “presxs inocente”

porque sino no tendrían apoyo de otras organizaciones y menos de la “sociedad civil”. Con este discurso se refuerza la idea de encierros justos e injustos que es otra de las creencias base. Se considera que el encierro es una solución a los problemas sociales, cuando se sabe que es un método de tortura y castigo a cualquier disidencia o “enemigo” de la sociedad.

Es un tema que podemos discutir fuera de la urgencia y lo abstracto, dialogar hasta donde se pueda, y cuestionar ¿qué apoyo se necesita? ¿Por qué hay una empatía selectiva a ciertos casos e indiferencia en otros? ¿Solo se piensa en la libertad de un compa, o de un camino sin cárceles, o ambos? ¿Exigimos cárcel a quien nos ha violentado? Si no creemos en cárceles ¿Qué tipo de justicia si podemos construir?

Hay muchas preguntas sobre esto, y respuestas que se van por la tangente, pero también hay que posicionarse frente a casos reales y concretos. Hay colectivos y grupos que temen posiciones respecto a eso, y empieza el silencio. Es más común ver individualidades actuar sin rendirle cuentas a nadie, por ahí es donde veo más posibilidades.

IGD: *¿Cuál es la situación actual de tu caso? ¿Y tú coacusado, Brandy? ¿De qué maneras concretas puede la gente mostrar su apoyo?*

Salí con LIBERTAD CONDICIONADA; debo firmar el resto de la sentencia y cumplir con otros requisitos burocráticos algunos días a la semana. Esto ha mermado mi vida diaria, es como si no pudiera valerme al cien por las limitantes que tengo que cumplir, no he podido recuperar mi tiempo, mis actividades. Es un paso más, pero no puede pasar desapercibido que cualquiera presx vive un cuadro de trauma después de la cárcel, nos quitan tanto, nos arrebatan aspectos ínfimos, no cuantificables de la existencia. Después de casi siete meses libre, aún siento que perdí terreno irrecuperable en términos de autonomía y confianza.

En el caso de Brandy, el JUICIO sigue abierto. Esto es un espada de doble filo porque podría obtener su

state and remake it as the president’s political tool, but it also places extensive core state functions under the control of an essentially private body with the capacity to engage in outright plunder and virtually no accountability to anyone except—at most—Trump himself. The regime’s authoritarian power drive has already begun to have devastating effects on people’s livelihoods, health care, social services, and beyond. Whether the courts capitulate to this assault or try to block it, with uncertain outcome, some portion of its impact on the state is likely to be irreversible.

At the same time, DOGE’s operations help us identify several potential points of weakness within the Trump regime. Trump and Musk may have their falling out, with the result either that Musk gets fired or there’s a very messy struggle for power. DOGE may overreach through recklessness, incompetence, and hubris, alienating supporters and provoking stronger push-back from the courts, Democrats, Republicans, or other sections of the regime itself. Thus recently we’ve seen Republican congress members criticizing DOGE and Trump-appointed heads of key agencies countermanning instructions from the DOGE-controlled Office of Personnel Management. Tech capitalists’ new status as Trump favorites may foster greater cohesiveness within the regime on economic policy and geostrategy, but it could also alienate other powerful sections of the business community, whether around competition for contracts as Michael Klare outlined or around other issues.

Neo-reactionary elitism may also collide with MAGA populism, especially as the real world impact of dismantling federal agencies and withholding funding is increasingly felt. Even before the inauguration, Musk clashed publicly with MAGA stalwarts Steve Bannon and Laura Loomer over the H-1B visa program. And while some antifascists assume that tech capitalists will win any such fight, I’m not so sure. There are sections of the MAGA movement, first and foremost the vast New Apostolic

Reformation network, whose ideological commitment runs deeper than loyalty to Trump, and who have extensive financial and media resources wholly independent of Silicon Valley.

I don’t have specific strategic conclusions to draw from all this yet, but any fault lines within the Trump coalition deserve close attention. They bely the image of unity and omnipotence that the regime wants to project, and they may create opportunities we can exploit.

Yet in looking at ways to combat the Trump regime, rallying to the Democratic Party would be a serious mistake. As I wrote recently:

Since the late 1970s, Democrats have been complicit with Republicans in making neoliberalism the dominant form of capitalist rule, expanding the repressive state apparatus, and strengthening military interventionism—policies that in some ways laid the groundwork for Trumpism and in others fueled a right-wing populist backlash from which Trump has benefited.

While the Republican Party’s leadership in expanding state repression (such as passing the Patriot Act and authorizing the use of torture) has received more attention, the Democrats, too, have played an active role—from Bill Clinton’s Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (which weakened defendants’ rights and restrictions on wiretapping) to the Biden administration’s dangerous use of “sedition conspiracy” charges against far rightists (a tactic that inevitably fuels repression against the left). In between, Barack Obama oversaw the \$100 billion construction of “the most powerful surveillance state the world has ever seen,” and, as a gift to President-elect Donald Trump just days before leaving office, Obama signed an executive order making it “easier for the nation’s intelligence agencies to share unfiltered [surveillance] information about innocent people.” On a state and local level, Democrats have actively promoted measures to suppress Palestine solidarity protests against

the U.S.-backed genocide in Gaza. Unlike the Trump administration and DOGE, none of these initiatives represented a systemic shift or targeted the administrative state—they mostly targeted radicals, foreigners, poor people, and other subversives.

Similarly, while tech capitalists’ collective embrace of Trump is a new and dangerous development, Democrats helped build their influence in Washington. The shift to unmanned weapons systems (which has helped tech companies win more military contracts) has its roots in the Obama administration, which vastly expanded the use of drones to carry out assassinations, at a cost of hundreds of civilian lives. And given the Obama administration’s massive construction of surveillance infrastructure (including spy satellites, supercomputers, listening posts, fiber-optic cables, etc.), it’s no surprise that web, telecommunications, software, and other computer-related companies avored Obama over Republicans. This finding comes from a study of business contributions in the 2012 presidential race, which concluded that “national Democratic leaders are politically allied with many of the industries closely linked with the new National Surveillance State.”

All this doesn’t mean we should treat all examples of capitalist political influence as the same, or ignore the immediate, overriding threat the Trump administration presents to all of us. Rather, it underscores the pressing need to build a broad-based resistance movement independent of the Democratic Party, where radical and anti-capitalist voices are not silenced.

Photo by Frecia Chirinos on Unsplash

Packed Courtroom As 12 Defendants Face Court For MVP Resistance

March 2, 2025

Report on court appearance by community members targeted for resisting the Mountain Valley

Pipeline (MVP) in Appalachia. For more background on the struggle against the MVP, [check out this interview](#).

On Tuesday, Feb 25 in Giles County General District Court, 11 out of 12 defendants accepted non-cooperating plea deals for charges related to actions against the Mountain Valley Pipeline. These court proceedings related to three direct actions that occurred between October 2023 and March 2024 on Peters Mountain in and around the Jefferson National Forest, including where MVP was drilling through the mountain under the Appalachian Trail. The 11 defendants who accepted deals were all facing absurd felony charges, including felony abduction and felony “unauthorized use of a vehicle.” Throughout the day, all felonies were dropped or nolle prossed.

The plea agreements included probation and community service, but no jail time. Those who pushed to go to trial ultimately received more favorable deals from the Giles County prosecutor Bobby Lilly. One person’s charges were dropped in full on the condition of six months of good behavior.

One of the defendants who pushed for a better plea agreement said, “Today we proved that co-defendant solidarity works. We were able to see how different strategies against a stacked system play out. It is in the courts best interest for us to take a deal out of fear of trial, but today we showed that they are just as afraid of an uncertain outcome and we can use that to our advantage when we work together. The people who went to trial, or pushed it to the brink, got objectively better outcomes than those who took deals ahead of time.”

Some agreements included paying restitution. Madeleine Fitch, an Appalachian mother, writer and activist who locked herself to an MVP drill that was boring under the Appalachian Trail, contested \$15,000 restitution in a hearing (this amount far exceeded restitution in other plea deals). The judge set a hearing about the matter over to April.

The day ended with the trial of a protester who stopped Mountain Valley Pipeline construction on Peters Mountain by suspending themselves in a pipe for 48 hours. They were found not guilty of 2 misdemeanors (obstruction and “conspiracy to interfere with the reputation of a business”) and guilty of 2 other misdemeanors (trespassing and “interfering with property rights of another”). They were sentenced to community service and probation.

The absurd felony charges issued by Giles County were part of an escalated wave of repression against people resisting the MVP. In the fall of 2023, Virginia police issued felony warrants for eight defendants from this case, and two others were re-arrested in court during arraignments when felony charges were added to their case—a highly irregular practice. More broadly, around 50 pipeline opponents are being sued by MVP in twelve separate lawsuits across multiple jurisdictions, including many of the defendants who had court Tuesday.

Despite MVP’s attempts to stifle resistance, people continued to fight the toxic project through its completion, and there remains sweeping opposition to the pipeline today.

One defendant said, “All of the solidarity today and outpouring of support truly made a difference and today gave me hope. The state may try to divide us but it will only bring us together...going through this whole case for well over a year has only cemented that no matter what happens I will never stop fighting. People will never stop fighting.”

On Tuesday, from 8:30 am-4:00 pm the Giles County courtroom was full to capacity with people in support of the defendants.

One local Giles County supporter, Carolyn Givens, whose land was taken by MVP through eminent domain said, “I have enormous admiration for every person who has had the courage to step up to the plate and publicly demonstrate for what we all know, and that is that the Mountain Valley Pipeline

is dead wrong, on so many counts... Thank you to those who have taken public action to stop MVP’s work, at a price to themselves, but to benefit the earth and its inhabitants. You are brave and you are in the right.”

The Mountain Valley Pipeline is a 303 mile long fracked gas pipeline tearing through West Virginia and Virginia, crossing delicate mountain ecosystems, karst terrain, and over 1000 streams and waterways. A series of direct actions and legal challenges helped delay completion of the pipeline for over 5 years, until congress and the Biden administration fast tracked the pipeline as a concession to Joe Manchin in the summer of 2023. The pipeline was finished in June of 2024, more than 6 years past its original projected completion. It is more than \$6 billion over budget (well over double its original budget).

Activist Charged with RICO Sues Atlanta Police Department for Adopting Policy of “Systemic Arrests and Pretextual Charges” of Stop Cop City Protesters *March 2, 2025*

The Atlanta Community Press Collective reports on a new federal lawsuit against the Atlanta Police Department.

by [Matt Scott](#)

A new federal lawsuit alleges that the Atlanta Police Department, at the direction of Chief Darin Schierbaum, instituted a policy to have law enforcement officers systemically use pretextual charges and arrests against Stop Cop City protesters, targeting people for their political views, not their actions.

“It really has nothing to do with the activity and everything to do with the topic,” said Xavier T. de Janon, one of the attorneys who filed the lawsuit. “It’s that it’s a ‘Stop Cop City’ thing that gets police to respond, not what people are doing

y más acostumbrada para gestionar la vida es la jerarquía: manda la más fuerte, manda el dinero, o la que lleva más tiempo, pero también hay momentos en que ese modo no basta, y afloran los actos de solidaridad, de empatía, de apoyo mutuo desinteresado.

Para la travesía que implica una visita se necesita coordinación y apoyo, entre la familia que regularmente son las madres, abuelas, tías e hijas.

Muchas veces los familiares hacen amistad en medio de la fila para entrar, entre ellos se hacen favores para ingresar cosas, para guardarse el lugar o para comprar insumos. Al final es una red de paros/favores/misiones para hacer más llevadera la situación.

Hay zonas de mamás en dónde crecen los peques hasta los 4-6 años, al contrario de que muchxs piensan, la crianza se lleva de manera colectiva, entre comadres.

Es un lugar hostil y proclive a la sospecha, por eso la confianza que se armaba entre compañeras no solo era importante, sino vital. El nivel de confianza es lo que hacía la diferente para sobrevivir.

Por ejemplo, había un grupo considerable de mujeres provenientes de Colombia, que se organizaban para comunicarse con sus familiares de allá, armaban sus fiestas, se conocían entre todas. A veces la empatía provenía de si eras del mismo barrio o colonia, digamos de la Morelos, de Tepito, de Santa Cruz, de Santo Domingo, etc.

Abro paréntesis para aclarar que ni todo el apoyo era mutuo, ni todo era desinteresado. Al final, se movía poder y dinero.



IGD: Eres anarquista y participabas

en la lucha social antes de que te detuvieran. ¿Cómo afectó tu política a tu tiempo en prisión? ¿Qué significa en la práctica ser anarquista en la cárcel?

En el papel aprendemos muchas cosas, pero cuando te toca vivirlas en carne propia, no siempre sabes cómo actuar.

Al principio me paralicé, cada mañana durante un año lloré desesperadamente, porque no entendía que estaba pasando, porque me negaba a esa realidad. Pero poco a poco fui agarrando fuerza y entrenándome emocionalmente para no dejárselas fácil.

La plática con mis compas y los zines me mantuvieron en una constante lucha por no bajar la mirada, por no ceder a la tortura psicológica. Si antes no era negociable dejarse mandar o mandar, en esos momentos una tiene que ponerse firme, el rango entre ceder y no hacerlo tiene sus matices, pero la tirada siempre fue no romperse ni corromperse.

En efecto, la finalidad del encierro es rompernos, hacernos creer que lo merecemos, hacernos creer que nuestra vida no es nuestra. Pero conforme conviví con otras compañeras que llevaban cinco, diez, veinte años, vi sus fugas, sus maneras de sobrellevar el encierro, de hacerle frente a esa mierda, las vi arrebatarnos un poco de libertad. En cana, como en cualquier lado, hay múltiples formas de ejercer el control, pero también múltiples maneras de resistirlo y anteponerse.

Sin duda, mi postura política y vital fue cambiando, se ha nutrido de las caídas y golpes emocionales, de compartir experiencias con mujeres que llevan una vida sobreviviendo a esa mierda.

No es lo mismo decir que hacer, nuestras prácticas van ligadas a nuestra visión del mundo, y hay que hacerlas valer con acciones, no solo con palabras. Entre las banderas y etiquetas, están las actitudes, el coraje, la fuerza y la ternura.

Elegir caminos para expandir nuestra libertad, nos llevará

indudablemente a situaciones de confrontación como esta y otras. Hay que estar preparados.

Como dicen lxs compas encerradxs en Chile, con la cárcel nada acaba. Es otro espacio de lucha y conflicto con la autoridad, un campo de batalla, de manifestaciones de control y abuso latente. Ya estando dentro, es un chance de demostrarles que no pudieron con nosotrxs, de resistir y burlarse de sus cadenas, de sus reglas estúpidas, de su doble moral.

De conocer sus estrategias, hay toda una idea de que es la cárcel, tabúes y proyecciones, hay que desmitificarla para perderle el miedo, para no caer, y para dejar de creer en sus funciones.

IGD: *A partir de tu experiencia en la cárcel, ¿qué consejos puedes dar a quienes apoyan y acompañan a lxs presxs? ¿Qué tipos de apoyo y acompañamiento crees que funcionan y cuáles no?*

No me ha tocado estar del otro lado y acompañar directamente, pero es una lucha igual de intensa y desgastante como sobrevivir ahí adentro.

Estos son algunas cosas que vi en personas, amistades y colectividades que estuvieron conmigo y con otrxs presxs años anteriores, ya se saben varias, quizá solo reafirmo lo que se ha hecho y cuestiono otras.

El apoyo económico al inicio es lo fundamental, la difusión del caso, y la reserva de fuerzas, porque aunque no se quiera, pasan los años y la energía se acaba, el tiempo merma.

Mantener una comunicación constante adentro-afuera, para que las cosas que se hagan de un lado tengan resonancia e impacto del otro, y nuestras acciones sean cada vez más intensas y directas.

El aspecto legal es importante, al principio tuve cuatro abogadxs y todos nos vendieron promesas, ilusionaron a mi familia aún sabiendo el problema. Lo que querían era dinero, provecharse de la situación.

Por eso, es fundamental el apoyo

movilidad por los pasillos, no había contacto físico con tu gente.

Cada semana “aislaban” celdas enteras por posible contagio, pero no las atendían, solo las separaban del resto sin revisiones médicas. Si hubo muertes, aunque dijeran que no.

De ahí en adelante, las autoridades penitenciarias no aflojaron las reglas post pandemia. Siguieron las restricciones sin ninguna justificación.

En 2023 unas diez mujeres iniciaron una huelga de hambre para que regularizaran las visitas familiares a otros penales, nadie suscribió, la huelga se consideró un acto “exagerado” entre las internas, y las autoridades presionaron hasta que desistieron.

IGD: *En prisión, colaboraste con la publicación Turquesa: Trasciendo Muros. Una Publicación Trimestral de expresión. Hecha por y para mujeres privada de su libertad. ¿Puedes contarnos más sobre este proyecto? ¿Cómo surgió la idea? ¿En qué consistió su elaboración? ¿Cuáles fueron algunos de los retos y gratificaciones del proyecto?*

La idea surgió los primeros meses entre compas de estancia. Me mandaban fanzines de afuera y publicaciones de ex presxs El canero, unas de España, desde Chile, Argentina y otros lugares, textos muy potentes. Los leíamos con entusiasmo porque era como si nos escribieran a nosotras. Nos imaginábamos todo lo que podíamos escribir sobre Santa Martha, y otros reclusorios de la CDMX.

Luego de un largo proceso de “adaptación”, inscribí un “taller” de escritura que inició en septiembre de 2021. La modalidad del taller en realidad, fue un pretexto para tener un “espacio” de reflexión y organización propio. Había quienes sí querían una “clase” pero la mayoría íbamos a desahogarnos, a hablar mal de la gente, tirar mierda del penal, a leer, a escribir. De ese tiempo salieron muchos escritos y reflexiones, pero no todos están en Turquesa. También se armaron complicidades, ciertas amistades insólitas, discusiones, lágrimas,

risas.

Turquesas se armó con el apoyo de mi mamá que en cada visita traía copias, y textos, o una USB (prohibida), lxs compas de la Micorriza, que editaron e imprimieron.

Una de las cosas más potentes, fue que nadie nos “instruía”. Regularmente entran organizaciones “bien intencionadas” con el objetivo de “dar voz” a las presas, pero ya traen un proyecto hecho. También la secretaría del sistema penitenciario incentiva talleres para escribir, pero al final se jacta del trabajo de las compañeras y utiliza un discurso de regeneración y tratamiento.

En Turquesas pusimos lo que quisimos sin terceros. No había estímulos externos económicos ni de reconocimiento, fue nuestro tiradero personal. Eventualmente las reflexiones se profundizaron, pasábamos de contarnos lo mierdas que eran las custodias con nombre y apellido a críticas hacia la idea de policía; de relatar nuestros casos jurídicos a pensar la justicia en México y la justicia en general, de las condiciones en las que vivíamos a darle rostro a las personas que habitábamos la prisión.



No es una publicación propiamente anticarcelaria. Cada una tiene sus posturas, compartíamos realidad en ese momento, pero había diferentes posturas. Hubo conflictos, desacuerdos. No somos una colectiva o un grupo estable. Aunque si habíamos 4 o 6 mujeres que escribíamos constantemente con intenciones de desmitificar la

justicia estatal.

Una vez queríamos sacar entrevistas, pero cuando la administración se enteró quiso dar de baja el taller. Hubo ocasiones en que entraban compañeras solo a sabotear e incomodar el espacio.

La primera vez que lo imprimieron, y entró al penal, se sintió chingón. Todas queríamos una copia para compartir lo que escribíamos. También recibimos cartas de afuera, y eso estuvo loco porque muchas no creían que en verdad nos leyeran.

Tenemos la 5ta edición en borrador, lo estaremos moviendo a principios de marzo, varios escritos aún están en papel en Santa Martha, la idea es ir sacándola, quizá con menor frecuencia, pero seguir nutriendo esta forma de resistir y construir. Decidimos no compartirlo por redes sociales, ya que varios textos tienen nombre y las compas siguen dentro, bajo el agua por ahora.

Si algunx quisiera colaborar o compartir reflexiones, textos, poemas pueden contactarme directamente al instagram @tempestad13 o con la micorriza @la_micorriza, y @Konspiracion_iconoclasta

IGD: *Más allá de la colaboración en el fanzine, ¿qué otros tipos de organización colectiva, apoyo mutuo, colectividad viste en la cárcel entre las presas? ¿Cómo eran las relaciones?*

Adentro se sobrevive por pura resistencia, apoyo y organización relativamente independiente de los muros. En Santa Martha no hay organizaciones autónomas como en otros contextos o países, mueve más el narco.

Pero a nivel micro sí hay una serie de redes bien fuertes. Organizar una estancia-celda implica llegar a acuerdos, cómo nos repartimos la comida, que trabajos requieren mayor esfuerzo, quienes toman decisiones, en quien recargas el hombro cuando unas lloran, que tanto poder y dinero se le da a las custodias.

Evidentemente la fórmula preferida

on the ground.”

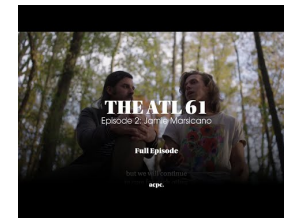
Attorneys de Janon and Drago Cepar, Jr. filed the lawsuit on behalf of Jamie Marsicano in the United States District Court for the Northern District of Georgia. It asserts six different civil rights claims, including for violations of the First and Fourth Amendments, against the City of Atlanta and individual defendants with the Atlanta Police Department (APD), the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, and the Department of Natural Resources, among other agencies. The complaint alleges that “defendants were recklessly and callously indifferent to [Marsicano’s] federally protected rights.”

Marsicano, who alternatively uses she/her and they/them pronouns, was arrested on March 5, 2023, during a multi-agency police raid of a music festival in Atlanta’s South River Forest, or the Weelaunee Forest by its Mvskoke name. Marsicano and 22 others arrested that night were charged with violating the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO) in a sweeping indictment that resulted in racketeering charges against 61 people alleged to be part of the Stop Cop City protest movement.

The complaint alleges that APD Chief Schierbaum created a policy of pursuing “pretextual criminal charges against ‘Stop Cop City’ protesters.” The policy has resulted in “an express instruction” that officers with APD and other agencies arrest and charge Cop City protesters, “particularly if they are close or present at the Weelaunee Forest,” according to the complaint.

The Atlanta Police Department did not respond to a request for comment.

Marsicano’s arrest and charges were “not based on sufficient facts,” de Janon said.



The complaint uses the term “the Stop Cop City policy” to refer to the “inter-agency policy [of] swiftly arrest[ing] and pursu[ing] pretextual criminal charges against ‘Stop Cop City’ protesters, that is, a person who is perceived to oppose Cop City and publicly express this political opinion in a protest.”

A report by the Brennan Center for Justice analyzed 2,365 pages of APD emails and intelligence reports. The Brennan Center found that APD monitored 155 community events between 2021 and 2024, 111 of which were allegedly related to the Stop Cop City movement and ranged “from community gatherings and pizza parties to public rallies and calls for action.”

“From a legal side,” de Janon said, “law enforcement looks at these events with the preparation of responding. Otherwise, why surveil it? That’s part of this Stop Cop City policy.”

The complaint alleges the Stop Cop City policy resulted in so many arrests between 2021 and 2024—including those of journalists—and was so pervasive that it amounted “to a custom and practice.” Those allegedly pretextual arrests have led to over a dozen civil lawsuits against the department. De Janon noted that the policy also resulted in the death of Manuel “Tortuguita” Paez Terán.

“Every case that involves Atlanta police’s behavior is traceable to Tortuguita,” de Janon said. “It’s not like that was an outlier or Jamie’s case is an outlier. These are all part of the same story.”

Harm and Remedy

Since their arrest, Marsicano has had difficulty finding work and housing.

“Anytime Jamie applies for an apartment, they run a background check and it shows pending domestic terrorism and RICO charges,” de Janon said. “Many jobs won’t hire you if you have a pending DWI; they definitely won’t hire you if you have a pending domestic terrorism charge out of Georgia.”

At the time of her arrest, Marsicano was a law student at the University of North Carolina. The university banned her from campus, forcing Marsicano to complete her law degree through a combination of remote classes at UNC and courses at other nearby universities. She recently took the North Carolina bar exam. If she passes it, she will still face difficulty obtaining a license to practice law, due to their pending criminal charges.

Beyond that, de Janon said, Marsicano has faced significant doxing.

“Many of [Marsicano’s co-defendants] face doxing,” de Janon said, “but especially because of Jamie’s gender identity, she’s suffered a lot of it. That’s really just destroyed her mental health.”

The lawsuit seeks monetary damages for the harm Marsicano faced as well as punitive damages against the individual officers. De Janon does not anticipate the lawsuit moving forward until after the criminal charges against Marsicano are resolved.

Final Straw: 5 Months After Hurricane Helene in Barnardsville, NC
March 2, 2025

Long-time anarchist radio show and podcast *The Final Straws* speaks with mutual aid organizers in North Carolina about ongoing autonomous disaster relief efforts following Hurricane Helene.

This week we’re sharing recent chat with Jazz and Badger, two residents of Barnardsville, a small village just outside of Asheville, NC. We spoke about the community, the impact

of Hurricane Helene, some lessons learned from coordinating among the neighbors and how people are faring now, nearly 5 months out from the storm. You can find their website at MutualAidBarnardsville.com

To hear similar stories from after the storm you can find links to past interviews in our show notes alongside links to groups working in the area, a few articles concerning government response and interviews recorded by Blue Ridge Public Radio: [Voices of Helene](https://www.voicesofhelene.com).

Articles on recovery referenced:

- <https://www.bpr.org/bpr-news/2025-01-13/are-fema-rules-to-blame-for-slow-wnc-housing-recovery-heres-what-we-learned>
- <https://www.newsweek.com/fk-kicking-hurricane-survivors-housing-administrator-responds-2013660>
- <https://www.bpr.org/bpr-news/2025-02-03/gov-stein-calls-for-1-07-billion-in-state-funding-for-helene-recovery>

Recent Storm Support for EKY, ETN, SWVA + WV

Recent floods in middle Appalachia in the middle of an intense winter cold snap have left many without potable water or other basic needs. ATV donation / loan / operation request to help check on people in hollers, help clear roads, drive supplies: reach out to thefarrlaccoon (a t) proton (d ot) me OR MutualAidDisasterRelief (at) gmail (do t) com.

EKY

One place you can look for where to send resources is Eastern KY Mutual Aid, found on [Instagram](https://www.instagram.com/mutualaidky) or Facebook under the name Hillbillies Helping Hillbillies. And you can find out more by visiting the [website](https://www.drawbuckets.org/) or checking social media for Mutual Aid Disaster Relief. Some of the useful links are here for those unable to use the platforms:

- EKY Mutual Aid [Patreon](https://www.patreon.com/ekymutualaid)
- [Volunteer form](https://www.volunteerform.com/) if in the region
- EKY Mutual Aid Cashapp: \$SoupBeansFriedTaters
- EKY Mutual Aid Paypal: @EKYMutualAid

In Pikeville, KY, there's a request for food grade 5 gallon for water filtration where municipal water isn't running or wells are contaminated there's a request for restaurants to save buckets for water filtration. People interested can contact Cara at 859_533_0349

DROP OFF LOCATION:
Pike Central HS
100 Winners Circle Drive Pikeville, KY 41501

Other EKY sites:

- Appalachian Crisis Aid Fund
- The Yall Squad <https://TheYallSquad.org/don>

SWVA

- SAMS Lonesome Pine Mutual Aid Paypal: @SAMSV
- The Care Collective of SW VA Venmo: @carecollectiveofswva
- Cumberland Mountain Mutual Aid
 - Paypal: cumberlandmountainmutualaid@gmail.com
 - Venmo: @CMMMAID
 - CashApp: \$CMMUTUALAID

WV

- WVUMC Disaster Response Ministries <https://WVUMC.org/donate>
- Bluejay Rising <https://BluejayRising.org/dona>
- Spark of Love Foundation
 - CashApp: \$sparkoflove4thekids
 - PayPal: The Spark of Love Foundation

ETN

- Disaster Relief at Work <https://www.drawbuckets.org/>

Photo by [Wade Austin Ellis](https://www.unsplash.com/@wadeaustinellis) on [Unsplash](https://www.unsplash.com/@wadeaustinellis)

Thursday's Rags

February 27, 2025

The Lake Effect collective offers a critical survey of various formations and their approach to the new terrain under Trump.

The Lake Effect Collective last mentioned the Chicago-area radicals at Behind Enemy Lines in our piece on the DNC, where they figured as a sort of foil to classify a problem we'd recognized in recent street movements. On the one hand, they were the public-facing representatives of militant, confrontational street tactics, no air quotes necessary. Insofar as they were enemies of the old, calcified left organizations, they were our friends, and we found ourselves around them often last summer. On the other, they were the organizers of a widely-publicized action outside the Israeli consulate, squarely in the ritzy, downtown Loop and, as a result, swarming with every type of local police officer available for overtime. Over seventy people were cuffed and processed, and the rest of the week suffered for it. In our [DNC reportback](https://www.dncreportback.com/), we chose not to mince words when offering our judgment on this action:

Action at the level of affinity groups only stumbled into one success in breaking through the fences on Monday, and missed the chance to capitalize on this open window before it closed permanently. Tuesday's attempt to force it back open at BEL's march on the Israeli consulate was disastrous, ending with mass arrests and no tangible windfall for the movement.

A few weeks later, this brief statement earned a reply in BEL's own report on the DNC, which they called "[The DNC is that way](https://www.dncreportback.com/)" - quoting a phrase they'd shouted during Monday's scuffle with the protest marshals, immediately prior to the fences coming down. They argue that the action at the consulate was a success, and that "the mass arrests were entirely worth it to send the message that some people won't go along with the program."

COVID, después me subieron a dormitorio.

Recuerdo que los primeros días "rondín" me detuvo por asomarme a la calle, a la semana después de 3 audiencias fallidas me dió el "carcelazo": una crisis de ansiedad brutal cuando me di cuenta que verdaderamente no saldría, también tuve conflictos con compañeras por su forma de organizar la celda.

Desde el principio las custodias y algunas compañeras se empeñan en meterte miedo para que te doblegues, para sacarte dinero, o para agarrarte de monstruo.

Otras compañeras, intentan darte ánimos, pero están igual de rotas. Son días sensibles.

Además, tienes el asunto legal. Te asusta lo que se dice en los pasillos o lxs abogadxs.

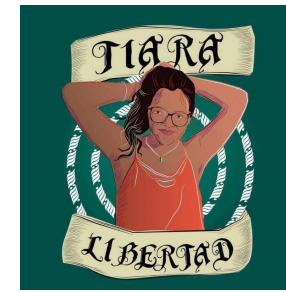
Entras en un estado de incertidumbre y vulnerabilidad, vives a flor de piel.

Por eso es importante ubicar escenarios siendo realista, reconocer que no saldrás al otro día. Al menos en México, los procesos van de 3 meses a 2 años mínimo. Es difícil apagar la esperanza, pero esto disminuye la incertidumbre, y reduce la posibilidad de que abusen de ti y tus redes, económica o emocionalmente.

El cuerpo está en alerta, es un momento para tantear el terreno: checar redes de poder, reglas implícitas de convivencia, lugares seguros, refugios, mañas.

Una se puede agarrar de lo que sea para mantenerse relativamente firme, de los recuerdos, de creencias, de ficciones, de tu gente, de ti mismx...

Es una batalla mental, perder la libertad es un tipo de duelo. No existe una manera "correcta" o un manual sobre cómo reaccionar.



IGD: El 1º de julio de 2024, saliste la cárcel después 3 años 10 meses tras las rejas. ¿Cómo era el día a día en prisión? ¿Qué hacías para mantenerte ocupada y sana? ¿Cuáles fueron las experiencias más terribles y las más agradables?

El cómo organizas tu vida depende mucho de la estancia-celda y edificio donde estés. Las reglas internas son bastante estrictas.

El "candadazo" era de las 7:00 am a las 7:30 pm. El resto la pasábamos adentro platicando, viendo TV, leyendo, bailando, a veces peleando, discutiendo, limpiando, lavando ropa, también había drogas, momentos de tranquilidad y hartazgo.

Pasé un año en el Edificio A. Solo teníamos permiso para salir al patio y hacer llamadas telefónicas una hora al día y otra hora para hacer la limpieza. Convivíamos 10-15 personas en la misma estancia 23 hrs seguidas. La locura. Regularmente dormíamos durante el día para no sentirlo, y hacíamos manualidades (rafia, tejido, dibujo) en la noche. Nos las arreglábamos para hacer ejercicio, para comer, para sobrellevar las horas que se sentían eternas.

Los siguientes dos años los pasé en el edificio B. Ahí el día estaba más estructurado, se cumplían actividades (obligatorias) de cultura, deporte, escolar y trabajo. Por esas fechas me refugie en el teatro y el entrenamiento físico, vendía cloro y chicharrones preparados. Ya conocía más o menos cómo funcionaba la rutina, y tenía más confianza con algunas compañeras, por esas fechas empezó turquesas, procurábamos comer sano, generar para los gastos. El punto era mantenerse activa, ese tiempo de

espera es una tortura, es el cuerpo en suspenso entre la esperanza y la desesperación.

Los últimos meses los pasé en "Población", que era prácticamente lo mismo, pero con uniforme azul. Seguí vendiendo los chicharrones y el cloro, trabajé en los cafés. Me aferré a turquesas, al entrenamiento, a compartir con las compas. Había "tandas" de dinero para ahorrar frente a la violencia económica, aprendíamos a vivir el aquí y el ahora.

Mi mamá nunca me dejó, siempre estuvo en las visitas. También pudieron entrar algunxs amigxs, eso me mantenía fuerte.

Recuerdo mi cumpleaños 24. Hicimos hotdogs, sacamos la mota, perreo y cumbia a todo volumen, bailamos el pasillo entero. Mucha diversión para un penal.

También recuerdo cuando nació el bebé de mi amiga. Se la llevaron a Tepepan a parir (otro penal femenino en la ciudad) y ansiaba que regresaría para verles. Era una gran alegría verlo dormir tan tranquilo, no sabía de rejas y leyes.

De las peores prefiero no recordar, a veces me preguntó si todo eso pasó.



IGD: Estabas en la cárcel durante la pandemia de covid-19. ¿Cómo afectó la pandemia a la vida en prisión?

Fue como vivir una cárcel dentro de otra cárcel.

Los juzgados estaban cerrados, todos los procesos jurídicos se detuvieron. Solo abrían para recibir y juzgar a más personas, atascaron los centros.

Las visitas se redujeron de 4 días a 1 por semana, de 6 personas a 1 familiar. No había género, no había

Sacramento, CA: Report Back from Anti-ICE Mobilization

February 25, 2025

Report back from recent mobilization in Sacramento, CA against ICE and continued attacks on immigrant communities.

On February 22nd in so-called "Sacramento" California, over 500 people gathered at Cesar Chavez Park for a pro-immigrant "Aquí Estamos" (We Are Here) rally. The event, put on by local mutual aid organizations like Nor Cal Resist, brought together people from all over the city to stand in solidarity against ICE and the current Trump administration. At the park there were food vendors, indigenous dancers, musicians, and multiple speeches from local organizers and activists. Speeches including talks of Black and Brown solidarity, anti-capitalist, and anti-imperialist values. The crowd was made up of a diverse group of community members with flags, banners and signs that included various anti-Trump, anti-police, anti-fascist, anti-ICE, and anti-Elon Musk slogans.

During the joyous speeches and music a group in black bloc hoisted up a Telsa cyber-truck piñata with the words "Eat The Rich" on it, that various people from the crowd gathered around and began to hit with poles and sticks. After a tremendous beating the Telsa piñata exploded with candy pouring out. Kids and adults alike rushed to get the delicious treats that came out of the beaten and battered Telsa piñata.



About an hour and half after the beginning of the rally, the group then gathered and took to the

streets. With massive numbers the group marched with banners and signs high chanting and dancing. Various chants could be heard such as "No Borders, No Nations, Stop the Deportations," "Todos Somos Antifascistas" and all variety of anti-Trump, anti-ICE and anti-police chants. Shows of solidarity for Palestine were ever present through the attire of attendees and through chants like, "From Palestine to Mexico, these Border Walls have Got to Go!" The march was truly a showing of solidarity not only across racial lines, but across ideas of resistance that resulted in anti-fascists and anarchists walking side by side with everyday community members, families, and indigenous dancers.

At any point during the march one could see a crowd in black holding up a banner that stated "Death to Fascism, Chinga La Migra! When the Billionaires Burn the I.C.E. will melt," with both the anarchist A and anti-fascist 3 arrows on it. From those on the ground the banner was well received and the presence of anti-fascists was one of welcoming. Prior to the march beginning, folks handed out protest security culture zines and masks which were well received and appreciated.

Once the march reached the local I.C.E. building, the crowd stopped to dance, chant, and give speeches. An American flag was then burned during this period of rest and folks could be seen dancing around the flames and jumping over the fire as a joyous resistance to the colonial and genocidal US Empire. The group then headed back to Cesar Chavez park, making a quick stop at the Capitol to dance. Finally the march ended where it began with final speeches of resistance and urges to stay involved and organize locally.

It should be noted that not one of the organizers of the rally ever attempted to peace police and in fact urged others to not do so by respecting a "diversity of tactics." It was made clear to the crowd that different people show their protest in various ways and that nobody should be told what to do. This show of solidarity for various types

of resistance should be the norm instead of an exception. It is through these kinds of acts of solidarity that the protest movement in the US can become a real spark for revolutionary resistance in a time of increasing oppression.

Todos Somos Antifascistas
Estamos Unidos
Chinga La Migra
No Gods, No Masters, No Borders!

Entrevista con Tempestad, anarquista y ex- presa en la Ciudad de México

February 25, 2025

Entrevista con anarquista y ex-pres/a Tiara Tempestad sobre su experiencia de casi cuatro años en prisión en la Ciudad de México, un proyecto de fanzine que organizaron desde dentro la cárcel, solidaridad y acompañamiento con lxs pressxs y la lucha contra la sociedad carcelaria. La entrevista en inglés se puede encontrar [aquí](#).

IGD: ¿Puedes presentarte en la manera que gustes? ¿Quién eres, de donde eres, en que estabas antes de tu detención?

Que tal! Soy Tempestad, es un gusto compartir la palabra desde la libertad física, saludar a las personas cara a cara, y poder abrazar a mi banda.

Por ahora vivo en la ciudad de México, como cualquiera, tenía una vida antes de la detención, tuve otra adentro y apenas estamos en la vida post encierro...

IGD: Fuiste detenida en agosto 2020 en la Ciudad de México. ¿Puedes hablarnos de los primeros días y semanas en prisión? ¿Qué consejos puedes dar a quienes se enfrentan a penas de prisión para sobrevivir a los primeros días?

Caer en prisión es un shok. Es como entrar a un mundo con otras dinámicas.

La primera semana estuve incomunicada, me tuvieron en "detención" y "aislamiento" por

This invites a whole slew of thorny, partial disagreements: wasn't it a fairly good message when people broke down those fences and pitched a bunch of Lacroix cans at CPD? And anyways, who's listening? And so on. None of this really leads anywhere essential, and it'd amount to a petty argument, not a critical response. Instead of disagreeing point-by-point, then, it may be rewarding to approach this problem from another angle, in reference to what seems like the most personal disagreement between our collective and theirs - whether or not BEL is "politically vague," as we argued in our DNC piece. BEL themselves have this to say:

[W]e think we can defend ourselves, at least, from the allegation of vaguery: we're an anti-imperialist organization who believes in doing what must be done to stand with the people of the world against US empire. [...] Our guess is that Lake Effect Collective has trouble making sense of an organization that doesn't fit into the existing Left, and that's why they find us "politically-vague."

In fact, it's because we don't make much sense in terms of an old, moribund, activist left that we've chosen to spend so much time getting clear on what political thinking means right now, what tasks the movement seems to be setting itself, and the various ways we can contribute, here on the margins, to accomplishing them. We also believe in "doing what must be done," but evidently, our groups disagree on what that entails. And we're anti-imperialist, but scanning BEL's own mission statement, one might come away believing that this is a question of foreign policy or individual moral wrongs done by this unraveling pig nation against the world's poor. Jerry Rubin didn't care much for talking strategy - "If we had to decide beforehand what our goals would be, we'd be arguing about the future society for the next 1,000 years... The movement gets its unity around tactics. We become a community through collective action." There's a rational kernel there: why write this if we didn't have an audience willing to listen,

people in common struggle brought together around tactical questions, including BEL? But asking the questions all of this back-and-forth leaves unarticulated might put us closer to the core of the disagreement.

EVERYTHING FUCKED

Before we jump a level out into the structure of the situation, a few words on our position in it.

We are witnessing a political crisis with the potential for our enemies to effectively rewrite American common law. The legacy media has been quick to invoke a "constitutional crisis," but the rule of law has not been suspended, and it won't have to be. The mandate has passed from a transnationalizing capitalist class to a coalition of petty contenders to that throne. A downwardly-mobile white middle class, bereft of the social programs of the mid-20th century, has begun to retreat into the ideological mirage of earlier, simpler times that guaranteed the economic supremacy of the white race and a comfortable future for its children. Fantasies of frontier homesteading and self-sufficient patriarchal households release the pressure while the white race's best and brightest get to work annihilating the last vestiges of an already-threadbare federal government. No one blinks when the President signs, then rescinds, a funding freeze to the corn subsidies and the SNAP program.

The electoral opposition isn't any sharper. Right now, what characterizes the political situation is waiting: the Democrats, for obscure reasons, are fumbling their simplest image-laundering operation in decades; the rank-and-file liberals, severed from an ideologically-coherent leadership, are hanging in mid-air; the radicals and the largely-moribund activist left, in a more comforting and recognizable pattern, remain ineffective and largely inactive. There are sporadic signs of change, largely unnoticed on Musk and Zuckerberg's social media platforms: [tens of thousands](#) have

taken expressways and [clashed](#) with the police in the last week, mostly concentrated in the Southwest. Meanwhile, marches called by non-profits and old-guard left organizations are shuffling into the new Trump era.

In 2017, the "resistance" marched on the inauguration, and with strong, politically-coherent messages and mass appeal, it deftly subordinated its well-intentioned radical collaborators to its own aims. Meanwhile, the less-collaborationist, more-abstentionist radical layer of the movement was active elsewhere in DC: someone cold-clocked Richard Spencer, and a few hundred others laid waste to a dozen commercial storefronts, setting the tone for years of bitter street conflict to come. 2025 has been different. The liberal response to a mounting score of right-wing political malfeasance is confined to appearances in news media, where pundits discuss the precise number of people the Democratic Party could afford to sacrifice to attract Republican voters. Should they put John Fetterman on Rogan? Should Kamala have stood her ground on denying trans women gender affirming care? Honestly, who cares about those people anyways? - In the absence of credible solutions offered by the erstwhile ruling elite, otherwise-depoliticized people are devising their own. Some contenders: put Musk's head on a pike, free Luigi, shut the country down until... In 2017, these aspirations would have terminated with a new, Democratic president. Not so easily today. The *New York Times* can't invoke institutional credibility fast enough to convince normal people that the total restructuring of the federal government will stop itself. (Something absent from the bourgeois press: the South saw scores of [voter suppression laws](#) between 2020 and 2024. It stands to reckon they'll only increase under the new Trump administration.) Liberals who still believe in the inviolability of liberalism can, at most, look away. Others have lapsed into "Blueanon" conspiracies about the dozen million votes the Democrats lost in 2024.

While 2017's radical response was

immediate and uncompromising, it also reflected a combination of greater political isolation with a greater amount of street-disciplined militants ready to converge on the Inauguration. This time around, instead of street militancy, the radicals' first few weeks have emphasized base-building at the neighborhood level, a correct response to an unprecedented opening left by an exhausted, inactive Democratic party. (To this end, BEL's decision to rent out a storefront organizing space during the DNC was laudable, and we've respected it since we heard about it in August!)

This election was a test of whether a "ruling class" exists in the United States. We learned, unequivocally, that the coalition of interests behind the Democratic party - an urban, college-educated middle class shoulder to shoulder with the bulk of the transnational capitalist class - was asleep at the wheel. The rule of law evidently means nothing with a Republican supreme court, and local jurisdictions are hardly much better. This new discovery points a layer deeper than Democratic ineptitude. What the bourgeois media has taken to calling a "constitutional crisis" is not actually about the integrity of the constitution - and it's not even about the unspoken, unwritten rules of decorum on which the Democratic party once relied to shore up its cyclical returns to power.

In reality it reduces down to two things: first, the class character of the Trump administration, made up of nouveau-riche Silicon Valley elites, petty national capitals and landlords, some representatives, including the President, of the domestic FIRE sector, and the popular mandate of a non-college-educated white middle class. What the liberals have called a breakdown in decorum or a disregard for precedent is actually a class politics with different motives and representatives than theirs - for whom disorder is an opportunity to get ahead, not a threat to transnational firms' bottom lines. (This is not abstract at all: see, for example, Vought's recent confirmation.) Second, it is the reaction of the middle-class whites

to a relative decline in their career prospects, usually hashed out as "downward mobility." As expressed in "Opening Acts," the so-called economic anxiety cited by many Trump voters has more to do with racial paranoia than the price of eggs - which is why calling them out on this or that hypocrisy falls so flat.

The Republican coalition of capitalist interests and the national-chauvinist white middle class will use every means at their disposal to remake America in the image of its founding myth: a utopia for the white race, at any cost to the world's poor, at home or abroad. At least they're honest.

CLASS PICTURES

We could use a little honesty ourselves. At the height of the Palestine solidarity movement, we expressed goals of broad proletarian and internationalist solidarity while struggling to take our solidarity movement out of the confines of the campus or the Palestinian diaspora. The problem of "escalation" hinged on this unresolved antagonism between the phrase (globalize the Intifada!) and its content (a student movement).

Escalation was two things simultaneously:

First: it was a possibility. We wanted to win divestment during the encampments, and only became more ambitious as the summer wore on. Globalizing the Intifada, abolishing the university, connecting our struggle to the struggle against the police, being practical internationalists and abolitionists, and bringing the war home were all sincere aspirations that many of us have held tight to over the past months. Escalation was a name for our subjective aspirations, and the more those ran up against the objective bedrock of the organization of society, the harder we pushed our uncompromising tactical line. We were right to do so.

Second: it was an index of a conflict between two blocs of the middle class. Each side took up a tactical commitment: negotiate or escalate.

The negotiators were invariably bureaucrats, management-minded full-time activists, children of academics, active employees of nonprofits (waged or not), social media influencers, etc. or their wilful collaborators, whether ideologically or by virtue of political underdevelopment - it bears repeating that the division between the camp and "core", while flimsier than we imagined, was practically objective, and not because we radicals wanted it to be! The same gap between "core" and the rank-and-file emerged at every major encampment in the country: for example at Columbia in New York, at UArizona in Tucson, at all three encampments in Chicago, at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and during the ULP strike in the California schools. The internal limit that we hit, long before the police arrived, was the self-activity of the professional-managerial middle class.

For its part, the Party of Escalation wasn't all pure commitment and ethical fiber. For some people, the class suicide implied by escalation was a long-term wager on future success. But for most of the hard-line participants in the encampments, it was a gesture at a different kind of political life, to which the bureaucratic left organizations, the university administrations and the police were all equally hostile. It was not prefigurative - most of the subsistence goods we relied on to sleep on the university lawns were donated by sympathetic small businesses, and we never got close to the instruments of production and transport that feed, clothe and fuel this country - though it did give us a taste for what practical solidarity can feel like when we're united by a strategic goal and not as respectful of the line between legality and illegality.

At its height during the last year, the Palestine movement, like the anti-war movement of the sixties and seventies, was an uneasy coalition between various middle-class forces. We'd like to get out ahead of the question that eventually unmade the last revolutionary generation. How do we relate to broader and more objectively well-positioned class

find this un-American nationalism a refreshing shift from the Red White and Blue waving assimilationism so prominent in previous phases of Latino immigrant struggle, and one that disrupts the imperative to choose one "nation" to be dedicated to. Yet the embrace of existing nation-state identity holds us back from a dream of being dedicated to no nations. It also resists a deeper and sophisticated critique of imperial capitalism, that recognizes the border as a key aspect of managing this exploitative economic system as well as the role of Mexico and other Latin American states in this management.

These limitations and many others leave no clear path to transition from the simple first steps of social conflict into a cycle of escalation that could actually impact the balance of power in this city. As I mentioned, this is not the only time in recent memory that actions like this have pushed boundaries and odds are things will go back to their eerie quiet like they have before.

Against this tendency, our goal as revolutionaries must be to help the growth and development from small beginnings to radical ruptures. However, we all need to think hard about what types of interventions might do that, and what our dreams of escalation look like. For one thing, we shouldn't confuse development of the struggle with "better plans" when that actually means tighter control over the movement by self-proclaimed leaders. Too often the call for "effectiveness" is actually a call for obedience. This tendency is not only whack, but it also stifles further escalation even if the disobedient masses have no meaningful strategy of "leverage." While the disruption and thoughtfulness of actions needs to increase, the most important aspect is to increase people's capacity to act and to control their own actions.

Part of doing this needs to be tracking and understanding the actual mechanics of how things escalate. In this situation, for example, that meant appreciating the use of cars to soften the boundary of the street, or how

standoffs with the cops aren't always the be-all-end-all. This also means understanding where people's rebellious spirit is already showing up. Quasi legal dance parties and anti-social truck mods (no one can say bright white LEDs in the wheel-wells of lifted pickups are polite ...) aren't quite political, but they are examples of people doing what they want, not what they're told. Moving with and through things like this is the only way to the explosions we're looking for not only of mass anger, but also of mass desire to run our own lives.

At the same time, we can't confuse prioritizing people's creativity with assuming people will magically figure out how to build toward revolution. Things escalating is never inevitable (especially not in Dallas-fucking-Texas) and even when they do, the turn from anger about the present to claiming power over our future is even harder. Importantly, we can't assume that ideas play no, or a negligible, role in how things progress. The reformist and reactionary off-ramps are so often taken in part because they jive with the common sense laid down by the ruling order: "the state can be a force to help people;" "not all cops are bastards;" "businesses can be cool;" "being a boss is cool;" and most importantly, "collective control of our lives is impossible." Revolutionaries have a responsibility to combat these assumptions and offer alternatives, but we cannot be paternalistic and dogmatic. Instead we've got to be experimenting and listening as we offer things. For example, the chant "Luigi Mangione / Did Nothing Wrong," did not take off in the crowd, but changing "Whose Streets? \ Our Streets!" to "Whose Land / Our Land" got people fired up. That specific example is exceptionally complicated in our settler colonial empire (which includes Mexico and the rest of Latin America), but there's something there. One task then will be to pull out what's liberatory of that slogan, and find ways to push away what's whack.

In practice that can't be done simply through words - thinking happens just as much through action. In Dallas, one of the main

ideas that has to be disseminated is that struggle and freedom are possible. That means that the top priority for furthering the escalation probably isn't picking the right target, strategy, or slogan, but rather to find more ways for more people to experience the thrill of defying authority and courageously confronting the existing order. Practically this means things like planning actions based on the opportunity for people to surprise themselves with what they're capable of in the form of unpermitted marches, space occupations, or something much more creative. It could also mean taking the advantage of actions planned with modest goals and supporting people to push boundaries and have more fun.

The last thing revolutionaries need to be paying attention to as things develop, both here and everywhere else, is how things can turn from letting off steam to asserting control. That's the mystical move that we have to keep our eyes set on. Maybe there's an intermediary step of "fighting for a demand," but we can't get lost in that. For example, if things do transition more formally to the workplace in the form of mass strikes like the "Day Without an Immigrant" in 2006 (as it seems some folks are trying to do), the most significant aspect will be how people meet their needs without the boss, and the demonstration that the entire economy is already in our hands. Subtleties like this will contain the opportunities for the truly inspiring new steps.

All this is only possible if we realize that, for the most part, we revolutionaries have no idea what we're doing. At least in the sense that our inherited models and strategies are spent. This includes hundred year old nonsense as much as stuff that we learned in the streets in 2020. The task needs to be to use those experiences to discover what's new today. That might be even more possible in places without the baggage of activist glory like Portland or New York City, and instead emerge from the stranger and much more wild territory of freeways, strip malls, and bridges to nowhere.

- Ramon Byrne

decision was made to turn back around and head back to the original intersection. With that shift the crowd eventually returned to confronting the police presence on the bridge. No one was left on the grass and no one cared about the isolated cops half heartedly pointing off the road. Half way down the bridge, an emblematic symbol of contemporary Dallas, people were stopped by a police line and took pictures standing on the roadway with no sidewalk to be found.

This is where my rundown ends. The majority of people decided to leave that boundary be, the crowd had thinned, the sun had gone down, and this phase seemed done, as was I. Plenty of folks did remain for several hours and new folks showed up seeming to have heard about the fun. Things did continue to escalate a bit and some water bottles were thrown at the police, much to the chagrin of “experienced activists” in the crowd who were worried for people’s “safety.” As I said, I have seen much more disruptive actions, but this one was lovely for a whole host of reasons.

What to Make of It

While this action was admittedly not very large and kinda silly, a bunch of people clogged up an unimportant intersection for a few hours, I think it was actually smarter and larger than it seemed. Given the context of Dallas this type of militancy is remarkable. It’s wrong to say it’s unheard of, but it’s rare and most recent public protests around immigration policies have been small and highly stage-managed.

But also the action itself showed some real sparks of strategic inspiration. The location was at the foot of a bridge whose construction was a spectacular waste of public resources, all for the purposes of erecting a dramatic icon to sell the city. The enormous public expense of building it and the prestigious architect employed are ridiculously incongruous with the amount of traffic it carries over the glorified flood plain called the Trinity River. The neighborhood around it was

the historic barrio, now heavily gentrified and replaced with condos and strange public development projects (what the hell is an “Art Park and Beer Garden?”), though Aztec inspired murals and upscale taco spots still line the street. But that dubious history of development also meant there was ample free public parking and accessible restrooms. Perhaps most importantly, the actual park where the protestors gathered is the site of a regular and quasi legal Cumbia dance party. The cultural networks around this served to turn out a broader and deeper set of people than any currently active political organization could.

Additionally, the tactics deployed in the streets were surprisingly sharp. The apparent timidity of taking the street was in reality caution and care to check the mood of the cops, who have been known in this town to bring the boot early and forcefully. Crowds dissolving away from standoffs with the police and marches doing arbitrary 180s were absolutely deescalating confrontation with the cops, but they were also maneuvers to prevent the police from locking the crowd into a clear and easily contained narrative. On top of that, they helped keep the afternoon interesting and avoided the familiar splitting of the crowd into brazen and meek. By being more measured with the peaks of combat, more people were able to feel more brave.

Probably the most genius contribution was the caravan of cars. By pre-clogging traffic, the caravan not only made it safer for folks to be in the street, but it also connected to the deep roots of the local car culture. People are proud of their trucks - raised or lowered. They want to show them off in the rowdy and rebellious style of local sideshows complete with whiffs of burning rubber and cracks of backfiring engines. In North Texas cars are life, for better or for worse. This action embraced as well as criticized this reality by demonstrating these are “our streets” whether we’re on foot or behind the wheel.

Even the way the crowd reacted to the ding-bat Trumper was notably subtle. It was a good two hours

before anything happened to him besides getting yelled at. This allowed for a slow escalation that again, brought the crowd along for the ride. In particular, it allowed for the combative anger toward him to spread like an itch through people. As folks got bored and excited they had something to turn feisty about. If things had moved more swiftly and efficiently it’s likely that either no one would have noticed, or the ones who took out the trash would have been encapsulated and neutralized.

Lastly, and most importantly, the resistance to incorporate established organizations was a real recognition that in this town, despite whatever narrative said groups might tell themselves, they are more of a drag than a boost to people’s rebellious spirit. A number of folks made feeble efforts to “marshal” the crowd, but they were soundly ignored. The services experienced activists could bring was mostly reduced to leading chants which was done just fine without waving acronym-laden flags or wearing little vests. Perhaps the only thing that would have helped was more bullhorns, but honestly, a good crowd is louder without them. *[note from haters: fuck bullhorns and the like]*

Of course the action was still small and full of limitations. For one, the boldness only went so far. The lack of aggressive action by the cops was because they were able to push the crowds into mostly modest traffic disruptions without having to resort to such tactics. Their light hand was calculated counter-insurgency, not weakness. For another, the messaging and sloganing were almost entirely liberal and reformist. One sign carried a common riff “Fuck weed, legalize my mom.” While the emotional resonance is clear it’s not obvious why legalization is the be-all-end-all, and more importantly: ¿porque no los dos?

Also of note, the Mexican flag and chants of “Viva Mexico” abounded, which shows complicated layers to people’s political imagination, especially at a time when the officially “progressive” Sheinbaum is all too happy to do her part in militarizing the border. I personally

forces in American society, and across the globe?

RED-ROLE PSYCHOLOGY

Among the early responders to the new Trump administration there’s a lot of talk about neighborhood assemblies, base-building, reaching regular people, and raising popular consciousness against the American system. This is great, but its political content remains unclear. In particular: who are the people we want to become “conscious” in this moment? Everyone wants to capitalize on the millions of Democrats absent from the last election, but no one’s sure what they’re hoping to find.

For our part, many of our recent decisions have been underwritten by a hope to see a dual power emerge in the United States, capable of confronting and defeating the forces of the state and domestic reaction, abolishing bourgeois property and law, and immediately advancing proletarian self-abolition, or communism. This assumes some thorny concepts - who’s proletarian here? Is the proletariat identical with the working class? (Some of us, author included, think not.) Many of them are only beginning to be resolved. (What’s the role of the current, revolutionary minority in the social movements, and how do we relate to the more advanced segments of the class?) But they’re political questions we pose openly, without self-censorship or appeals to pre-given organizational unity.

Our emphasis on confrontational and ambitious tactics in our writings has always attempted to connect them back to their political context. We’ve found that in the case of certain street tactics, the technique in question converges with a whole strategic horizon that it implies and makes thinkable, clarifying the political situation for its participants. Beginning with the Ferguson uprising, for example, de-arresting began to enter popular consciousness, though at the margins of street activity in cities where confrontation with the police was most intense. After

2020, the entire situation changed, both on the level of tactics and strategy. During the George Floyd uprising, if you let people get arrested, you were a coward or a traitor. Mass confrontations with the police were initiated *and won* by nameless, faceless proletarians, with only minimal help from street-disciplined, tactically-skilled protestors. And at this moment, the nonviolent, minimally-confrontational middle ground - mass arrests from Extinction Rebellion in 2019 or Jewish Voices for Peace in 2024 - fell away from the radical edge of the street movement. What was once the median range of street confrontation now looks like a meat grinder out of which well-meaning radicals expect to harvest a new crop of radicals who have learned to hate the police.

BEL claim their action outside the Israeli consulate sent the “most militant message of all of the protests.” This emphasis on militancy is laudable and sensitive to the leading edge of street tactics, but adopts the wrong disposition towards it. It mistakes one quality of the new tactical sensibility for its entirety. What matters is not just fighting the police, signaling discontent, causing a disturbance in a public space or even “shutting it down,” like the Yippies put it. The essential content is not disobeying orders, it’s disobeying orders and *getting away with it*. At the University of Chicago encampment, on the night before we believed a raid was scheduled, groups of campers broke out into their “risk-level” roles - red roles would link arms and get arrested on camera, or would maybe defend the camp at penalty of a certain arrest, depending on who you asked, but at any rate, arrest was guaranteed. Yellow roles would leave as soon as the police advanced towards the camp. Green roles would watch from the sidelines, yell at the police, chant, etc. — But a fourth category invented itself, which didn’t easily fit into any of the preordained risk levels, since the others were mostly defensive in definition. One friend who would take on an “orange” role told me that she was looking to get better at staying as long as she could, doing as much as she could do, and knowing when to leave.

Something nearly identical happened in Tucson, AZ, in Arcata, CA, during the occupation of the Institute of Politics here in Chicago, when the fences came down at the DNC, and later in Montreal. For our own part, the friends who’d later coalesce into an early version of this collective also wanted to train a certain muscle - being brave, but being smart about it. We overheard another conversation between someone who dissented at the encampment’s last general assembly and someone else from “core” who’d been convinced to support the defense of the camp. The organizer asked the camper whether they’d be interested in taking on a red role, which would get them arrested - camp defense, at this point, meant being one of the ten or twenty shield-users who’d try to hold off UCPD when they arrived for a raid. The camper paused for a moment, then clarified that they were interested in fighting because they wanted to win, not because they wanted to catch a case. Tactically, we’re here to push forward this kind of ambition, not just senseless and self-sacrificial bravery. Helping people learn that they can successfully undermine and circumvent the violence of the state is more important than teaching them what a baton feels like.

POLITICAL CLARITY (“DOING WHAT MUST BE DONE”)

If the de-arrest indexed the role of the police in maintaining American capitalism, in particular its color-line division of the working class between an affluent, mostly-white middle class, its poor-white collaborators, and a racialized, urban proletariat, what does this new notion of *getting away with it* teach us?

Most importantly, it forces us to take the reflective, self-clarifying moment of “spontaneous” uprisings seriously. Regular people approach street confrontations not just out of the moral fiber of their character, or their indignation at the state of the world - they want to

learn how to rebel *effectively*. Any attempt to “go to the masses” should take this questioning attitude seriously, not just by spreading radical techniques, but by substantiating them with concrete, serious political education.

What do we mean by that? BEL says in their “[Mission Statement](#)” that, “through popular education (not just memes or slogans), we will break through the complicity, government lies, and media silence and expose the crimes of the war machine, celebrating resistance and building public opinion against ongoing and future wars.” This is agreeable, but it’s a little one-sided: people learn to answer the questions they have, which aren’t always the ones we intellectuals want to teach them. An example: the group’s mission “to find the conscious and critical thinkers” among “active-duty soldiers and their families” is righteous but wrongheaded. One fact that distinguishes our moment from the heyday of the anti-Vietnam protests is the structure and class character of the military. After the draft pulled in enough poor whites and non-white proletarians to jeopardize the Vietnam war at home and abroad, it was [replaced](#) by a cultural campaign to raise a professional, middle-class military in which, at present, the great majority of recruits are descended from middle-class military parents. The “poverty draft” is a myth that ironically reflects a failed government campaign more than the reality of the US military.

Taking a step back from America’s middle-class professional military and its families, we can see in a little more clarity the lines along which this new cycle of class struggle is taking shape. As mentioned in “Opening Acts,” the American working class, in its unconscious self-activity and its political self-understanding, is defined by the color line. This is not an ideological accretion that distorts the essential identity of white and Black workers, but instead names a racial division of labor that extends down from hiring and firing practices and wage differentials into the geographic organization of cities and the biopolitical distribution of

who is exposed to senseless death and immiseration, and who’s not. When Sean O’Brien complains about “illegals,” he’s not only being stupid and irrational - he is appealing to the legal distinction between documented and undocumented laborers that greatly lowers the aggregate cost of reproduction of the latter (lower wages, less overhead for safe working conditions, often heavily restricted freedom of movement) and sets undocumented workers against documented ones. When we look at claims of “job theft” a little closer, it’s not hard to see the same mechanism that DuBois saw, in the nineteenth century, guaranteed Northern labor “could not clearly envisage just how slave labor in conjunction and competition with free labor tended to reduce all labor toward slavery.” (BR p. 19) The same legal mechanism that allows documented workers to reap the benefits of documentation and citizenship pits them against their undocumented pseudo-competitors and leverages that objective division to keep the American working class unorganized and subordinate to the business unions. This is the real content of the relation: it’s not a hypocrisy that Sean O’Brien’s union employees wouldn’t work in meatpacking. That’s the point. And as a result, to blame this on insufficient overtures to the white left would [completely mischaracterize](#) the situation.

This sketch of American labor doesn’t offer up any easy answers or readymade political solutions on either side of the color line - misery doesn’t mechanically produce political clarity - and if anything, it complicates the politics of various fragments of the class. But if we want to compose a political force capable of articulating its own revolutionary goals and making good on them, we’ll have to understand the terrain on which those coalitions and common practical agreements take shape. For example, this makes intervention in the state-endorsed distinction between innocent and criminal migrants essential-including its many soft-pedaled liberal versions. It also challenges us to understand why the encampments failed to bridge student radicalism and the

popular forces with the leverage necessary to unmake this society. As a sixties Panther [put it](#): “I believe working people are the blade of the revolution and the students the handle. No matter how hard the thrust is, the action will be useless unless the blade is sharp.” A Hind’s Hall occupier [describes](#) a familiar scene: “A Barnard grad made an announcement that we needed to break open the gates and let all of Harlem inside, she was promptly recruited.” We all wanted to break down the walls that segregated the university from the regular people who live next door to it - not least of all in Hyde Park. But overtures in this direction fell flat, both subjectively and objectively. How do we engineer a situation in which our own activity supports and advances the radical elements of the class that are emerging in this crisis situation?

The rudimentary components of the problem and its solution are there in BEL’s statement of purpose. All of the “anti-war activists, courageous religious people of conscience, Rastas, punk rock kids, Palestinian activists, diaspora rebels, and people fighting for national liberation for their homelands and/or people” will need to make felt contact with “immigrants and refugees who have firsthand experience with the horrors of the empire; Black, Latino, Indigenous, poor, and working-class high school students,” and everyone else whose objective position in the international system renders them an advanced segment of the class. But none of this can include giving up the political commitments that distinguish us from the nonprofits and decaying left organizations, chief among them autonomous politics and revolutionary aspirations.

This is why we thought BEL’s action at the Israeli consulate was misguided in its aims and disastrous in its effects. Unlike Jerry Rubin, we don’t think “Revolution is Theater-in-the-Streets” wherein “[t]he goal is to turn on everyone who can be turned on and turn off everybody else.” Measuring our impact in media attention or brute numbers is inessential; it tries to read success and failure off of a

Either way we appreciate the description, analysis, and questions it raises. Of course, like most of the submissions we receive, we don’t agree with every point but it’s important to see these types of reflections and writing on situations outside the American metropolises.

“A bunch of people just felt free for the first time,” was the immediate reaction of a seasoned comrade to a protest on January 26th, 2025. The demonstration was organized by two Latina high school girls to support migrants against the escalating deportations and racist policies coming from the newly minted Trump White House. The call for the action had minimal and vague goals (just to hold signs and be present), yet it spread virally on social media, especially Tik Tok, turning out over a thousand people on a cold and rainy day in Dallas Texas. What was so thrilling about the event was seeing people carefully but bravely maneuver around the cops and step up the disruption. They began by chanting and holding signs and ended up blocking a downtown bridge for several hours. People walked past cops who sheepishly said, “hey you should get on the sidewalk,” and even brought some consequences to a racist counter protestor. Sometimes the simple things are the most beautiful.

I am not a Dallas-ite, though I’ve been living here for a year and a half. I did not attend nor am I writing this as part of an organized crew. I do have many years of experience at protests and in the streets, some of them much more disruptive and confrontational than this action. But as I said, sometimes the simple things are the most beautiful. There are a number of aspects of this action that I think are incredibly important for us all to consider. Specifically, the mechanics of how and why this protest took some bolder turns than it set out to, and importantly, what that can teach us about the fragility of the eerie quiet around social struggle in a place like Dallas.

This action has been followed by numerous other demonstrations and become part of a national wave of mobilization. Most of the

actions here in Dallas, however, have been steered away from the promising courage and militancy of that initial event. While this is due to many factors, we should not overlook a plain lack of clarity and creativity about what it would take to further escalate, and what even counts as escalation in the first place. Instead there have been successful attempts to reduce the unruly aspects of the crowd in the name of some vague “effectiveness.” This is an unfortunate, but unsurprising development. However, this turn to passivity is not one set in stone. In the interests of helping people imagine what a more powerful and in fact effective development could look like, I offer the following thoughts. The hope is that with some careful reflection those of you in the struggle can see that we already have the power and opportunity to win much more than a retreat of the Trumpist reaction: the transformation of our social lives which have been and remain broken regardless of who’s in the White House.

What Happened

Lets begin with a basic rundown of the event. The crowd began to amass a little before the scheduled 3pm start time. For the first couple hours things were low-key, but with the large turn out there was a good energy. The official plan had been to rally on the edge of the road and along a pedestrian bridge easily visible from the more prominent Margaret Hunt Hill Bridge (aka, The Large Marge). The young and inexperienced organizers of the event explicitly did not want to take the streets and aimed for things to be “peaceful.” There was brief marching down the pedestrian bridge, but they turned around before it got close to the street. At the beginning of the action there was a small but meaningful police presence, four or five cars and about as many officers.

The crowd was split between those further from the road where a mic was available for people to speak, and those right at the curb. The energy next to the road was higher and began to feel spicy when a lone counter protestor showed up holding a 30ft flag pole bearing an

American flag and a Trump flag declaring “Mass Deportations Now.” This solo idiot had a ring of protesters shaming him with about five cops protecting him. Compare this to the five cops watching the other thousand people. Serving and protecting.

As all this was happening a slow parade of cars was passing the protest, all supporters. Some were blasting music, some were waving Mexican flags, some spinning their tires and backfiring their engines. This caravan was clogging up traffic for blocks and was starting to blur the lines between the curb and the road.

After hours of not doing much, a tipping point appeared as more and more people snuck onto the medians and islands in the street, headed over to where the lonely American Patriot was standing. People had been crossing, mostly following the traffic light, but in a sudden moment a few more people than before lingered on the road, and then a few more people stepped out despite the red “Don’t Walk” sign. People realized this was their chance to take the street and like a bouncing ball of slime they filled all four lanes of the road. People still on the curb looked on nervously as the cops swiftly shifted position, but soon felt the thrill of being bold and joined. The cops decided to accommodate this rather than squash it. The crowd began to chant, “Whose streets, our streets” with a new fervor.

After a while of pressing against a mostly polite police line at the bridge the Patriot decided to leave and the front line became the rear guard as he was followed by the proud and the bold. Something happened to his flags, and something happened to his face. But now the crowd was facing a new direction and since the cops had closed the street a boulevard was open for marching. So again, carefully, people started marching down the road, others saw the momentum shift and went with it. Then they were marching down the block, with supportive neighbors waving Mexican flags from their condo balconies.

A few blocks down somehow the

leaning toward each other. We went from hardly motivated to brainstorming a long list of great ideas. In between, without really intending to, we'd basically held a grief space for ourselves "simply" by talking about what we wanted and needed in one for others. We came with sorrow, and found joy too, and it was as if we'd known each other a long time.

Fast-forward to the bookfair in May 2023, and our little collective set up the biggest, most beautiful grief space I've yet to have the honor of helping to create—and not only that, but it was a sheer pleasure to organize from start to finish. Collectively, we had everything we needed to implement all of our many ideas; we allowed for a plurality of grief modalities and ways of approaching mourning; and when the bookfair was wrapping up, we sat in a circle inside our space to talk about our feelings, what went well, and what we wanted to do better next year—because we already envisioned a future together.

The space itself, outdoors near the main entrance to this gigantic bookfair for the entirety of the weekend, was composed of two pop-up tents with flowing DIY walls of fabrics and gorgeous hand-painted "grief" banners on the outside, along with a table of free anarchistic zines related to suicide, dying, death, and mourning. Inside, we constructed a "floor" of blankets and soft cushions, asked folks to take off their shoes when entering, and artfully laid out all sorts of participatory materials for mourning, from an altar to musical instruments and art supplies. We offered two programmed slots—one focusing on somatics, and the other on talk—but for most of the time, we let folks engage with the space as they needed, with one of us on hand to hold space as desired. Mostly, we witnessed how people brought all of their senses to bear on the space—from sights and sounds, to smells and touch—and all of their emotions—ranging from tears and rage to laughter and love.

What struck me at both bookfairs was how many people—folks I didn't know, and who didn't know me, and had no idea I was part of

any of the grief spaces—eagerly wanted to share their joy with me at being there. They went on and on about how friendly anarchists were being toward each other, across all tendencies, offering genuine warmth, playfulness, and openness. They remarked on how refreshed, reconnected, and hopeful they felt thanks to these gatherings, in contrast to the past three years of despair and loss of faith. I could relay story after story, but one suffices as illustration.

At a magical afterparty held at an enormous community space won through two decades of struggle, one particularly exuberant young person was gushing to me about their day at the Montreal Anarchist Bookfair. "I feel such joy, I can hardly express it," they said, beaming from ear to ear. I asked them to give me an example and suddenly their face turned somber. They spoke of having to fend off fascists in their small town with their small collective for the past three years, amid all the pandemic isolation, and how bleak everything felt before this weekend. "I wasn't sure I was up for a huge event and lots of socializing. Then I saw that grief space. I didn't go in. It was enough to see it and have it there. To have my grief made visible and acknowledged. That felt so genuine, which felt so joyful. It opened me up to joy again." A broad smile returned to their face. "Why do we hide grief? It has such power to bring and keep us together."

Ten years ago, in the blink of an eye between my dad dying and my mom soon to follow, I was tasked with cleaning out their home of many decades as part of caring for them through sickness and death. The easiest solution, and most intuitively anarchistic one, was to do a make-an-offer "yard sale" right in the house itself. Yet in the down-and-out economy of Michigan, it quickly became apparent I needed to turn it into a really, really free market. Over the course of a week, hundreds of folks dug through the whole house from attic to the basement, which I'd remade into a theater/forest so long ago, and took what they wanted. In the process, people told me their hard-luck

stories, and I listened; then they wanted to hear about my losses, and they listened.

They also joyfully shared their finds with me, from a teenager who eagerly snagged the same typewriter I'd used as a teen, saying they wanted to be a writer, to the people without health insurance who'd discovered leftover medical supplies from my parents' illnesses that they themselves greatly needed, to the person who carted off what to me looked like sheer garbage, saving me the trouble.

Toward the end, one person lugged a dilapidated, musty cardboard box up from the cellar and plopped it in front of me. A huge grin spread across their face as they opened the box to reveal hundreds of fabric patches, a bit faded, but still bringing together geometries of purple and turquoise, pink and green, red and black, into pleasing designs. "Wow, I love these! Can I take them home?" they exclaimed. "Maybe I can invite a bunch of my friends over for a potluck and together we can all make a quilt!"

Cindy Barukh Milstein still doesn't quilt. Or maybe they do, in different ways. Follow [Cindy Milstein on Mastodon here](#).

**Report Back:
Reflections on
January 26th, 2025
in Dallas, TX**
February 25, 2025

Reportback from recent demonstrations in Texas against mass deportations and ICE. This text was originally published at [Haters Cafe](#).

Often people ask us what the radical landscape is like in DFW. Our response is usually a prompt and succinct "it's shit" followed by how living here makes one of us feel constantly suicidal. Luckily, we received this reportback about a significant recent protest in Dallas that can help us paint a better picture of the situation in the city. As the level of protest described here represents a significant break from normality that's noteworthy to write about, you can imagine what normality is like...

barometer we inherit from activists and nonprofits, who judge themselves by the speed with which they drag mass movements back into the morass of symbolic consciousness-raising. Mass arrests were guaranteed in advance when BEL picked their fight in the least hospitable, most surveilled neighborhood of Chicago, surrounded by hundreds of riot cops. But successful actions do not just "send a message" by disobeying, they *teach people*, onlookers or participants, that they can do more than just struggle: they can win, too.

Photo by [Michael](#) on [Unsplash](#)

**The Long
Emergency: A
Discussion With
Adam Greenfield**
February 27, 2025

Welcome back to *The Beautiful Idea*, a new project from a collective of several anarchist and autonomous media producers scattered around the world. We're bringing you interviews and stories from the front-lines of autonomous social movements and struggles, as well as original commentary and analysis.

In this episode we sit down with Adam Greenfield, author of the book *Lifehouse*, out on Verso. In this discussion we talk about technology and the internet, the occurrence of disaster, the long emergency, the concept of lifehouses, prepperism, and the complexities of organizing in communities.

You can find [Lifehouse: Taking Care of Ourselves In a World on Fire](#) here.

Photo by [Caleb Cook](#) on [Unsplash](#)

**Stitching Together
Other Worlds**
February 25, 2025

Long-time anarchist author and organizer Cindy Milstein presents a selection from, *Constellations of Care: Anarcha-Feminism in Practice*. Download a [PDF zine version of this text here](#).

For those on the margins, making do with scraps is common sense.

I've no idea if that's what a preteen and teenager, to take bits of colorful fabric, cut them into triangles and trapezoids and other queered shapes, and stitch them into square patches. The idea was to someday craft enough that I together into a patchwork quilt. I made neat, growing stacks of these patches, setting them aside in my closet. Over those years, I had more than enough for many quilts, many times over, but I never started, much less finished, even one.

In parallel with this solo activity, yet stretching back as far as I can remember, I was constantly dreaming up and bringing to life all sorts of otherworldly spaces, also pieced together from scraps, but collaboratively with others. To take just one early example, along with a crew of preteen pals, I self-organized our own theatrical adaptation of Hansel and Gretel using the basement of my house as our stage, and naturally felt it was a great idea to drag in hundreds of fallen tree branches that we scavenged outdoors to construct a full-on forest indoors. In our version, as I recall, we celebrated kids running away from insufferable situations and trying to live by caring for each other (via foraging and candy), with the witch as an accomplice—not villain. Yet the real magical transformation was that a dusty cellar filled with abandoned things could become a leafy wooded paradise overflowing with friends.

In hindsight, weaving beautiful social fabrics has been a contiguous thread running through my life. I realize now, though, why I never completed a quilt: one shouldn't have to do it alone; moreover, the insidiousness of how patriarchy socializes us all made me "feminize" and thus devalue my hand-sewn patches as any sort of contribution. It feels metaphorically accurate that I hid them away in a closet, making my own handiwork invisible. I didn't yet understand that every labor of love can be a small piece of something much bigger, wholly at cross-purposes with the current social order, when we intentionally and collectively suture those parts

into a whole. We have all the material we need, right in our scrappy hands.

Take the implicitly rebellious history of quilting.

This "women's work" was, for centuries, not merely a necessity in terms of supplying households of modest means with blankets. Crucially, it allowed female and queer folks to create their own social, cultural, and political space in the form of what has come to be called "quilting bees." Here, those relegated to the so-called domestic sphere came together to collectivize their scraps and labor, literally and figuratively sewing communal comfort for each other, and in the process, making room for themselves in a world that typically shut them out. While stitching, they could exchange everything from recipes and home remedies, to their problems and fears, to news and gossip, or skills and other resources. They could tell each other stories of hardship or harm, and from there, lend each other protection or intervention; or swap stories of loss and grief, and offer emotional care; or spin tales of joy, dreams, and aspirations, likely fomenting all sorts of resistance to achieve their visions.

Frequently, these bees turned into community events, bringing what would otherwise be invisible efforts into the light of day, including via folks embroidering their own stories as images on quilts. That kind of radical comfort made its way, for instance, into the AIDS memorial quilt, an idea emerging from street demos following the 1978 assassination of gay San Francisco supervisor Harvey Milk and the resultant riots as a way to honor the dead and fight for the living during a "silence equals death" pandemic that killed off so many gay and gender-nonconforming people.

The point isn't that every quilt equals revolution. It's that we shouldn't minimize the potential of what can feel like small, individual patches of practices, whether on our own or with tiny circles of friends and neighbors. We shouldn't make invisible the kinds of liminal, messy-beautiful time-

spaces we make for our crafting and scheming, whether they produce material embodiments as a result, and/or the essential immateriality of reciprocal comfort and care, aiding us to be coconspirators in mending this world. And when displayed together—like the AIDS quilt, which stretches for miles now and was toured at the start of another pandemic, COVID, which in turn sparked a wave of mutual aid and summer of uprising—we realize that we are indeed everything we need and want and desire. We ourselves sow possibilities, and ones that can get us through the coldest and darkest of days and nights.

So here's a small sampler—what's usually dismissed as ultimately forming a "crazy quilt," without design or intention, when viewed from the vantage point of heteronormativity, patriarchy, and other tools of violence that rip us to shreds. Yet through the lens of dignity, life, and freedom, it's the stuff of weaving a perfectly beautiful, anarcha-feminist pattern.

1

The beloved project ended, badly. It split into two halves that could never again form a whole, if it ever did. More precisely, one-half had to leave because the other half had, over the years, organized as if in a cloud-cuckoo-land, not wanting to venture past its own political dogmatism, internal power dynamics, and patriarchal behaviors (despite rhetoric to the contrary), or inability to deal with the reality of mundane logistics like paying the bills. Our half had brought vibrancy to this project, not only renewing it in many ways, but doing the lion's share of the self-organizing and communal care to make it happen. In the end, we became, to borrow from Ursula K. Le Guin, "the ones who walk[ed] away" from what had, for us, so often felt utopian, knowing that our departure also spelled the death of this longtime, remarkably transformative space for hundreds of other anarchists from around the world.

Similar to the conclusion of Le Guin's short story, we couldn't yet imagine what alternative universe we were journeying toward,

though, mostly because our hearts were so heavy. "It is possible it does not exist," observes Le Guin. "But they seem to know where they are going, the ones who walk away."

What we knew, as genderqueer friends and even chosen family, was that we had to process our loss together. We had to rest and regroup, play and rethink. And as part of that, on one sunny day, we circled up around a table outside a bakery in our tiny town, ourselves a tiny crew, to eat and brainstorm. What did we want to see emerge out of the ashes and lessons of the project we'd just left? Over the next year, five years, or even ten? And crucially, what did we want to promise each other about how to do the next project(s) differently so as to actually embody our ethics, especially around organizing as if social relations matter? Felt-tip markers transferred our musings onto big sheets of butcher-block paper, which quickly filled with seemingly unattainable strivings.

Soon after, serendipitously, some folks starting an anarchistic all-ages café and community hub asked if we wanted a small room on the second floor above them, along with access to hosting events in their space. Thus our all-volunteer, no-profit, collectively run Black Sheep Books was born, with both projects opening their doors on the same day. We eventually outgrew our spot and moved about a block away, into a storefront already painted red and black. And five years after our mutual grand opening, the café and Black Sheep ended, but well.

At some point during that time, us Black Sheebers looked over our now-rumpled list of dreams and were startled to realize that we'd achieved so much of what we wanted, materially, organizationally, and politically, plus ahead of "schedule." But what felt best was that we'd lived up to our promises, even when it was hard, or when different ones of us were going through tough times. Those promises were numerous, yet one jumps out in particular: entering into and exiting collective efforts with intentionality and empathy, and checking in every six months to be sure we all felt good

about each other, what we were doing, and continuing to go forward together. This involved making good on our promises of, say, communal care and good communication, but importantly, it was grounded in our shared recognition that both the project and each of us had to grow alongside each other, even if that meant consensually disassociating when Black Sheep wasn't nourishing for us, our communities, and/or our aims anymore.

So we had many an open and honest conversation in that last year, including through breakups, heartache, and depression, and knew that while Black Sheep could have forged ahead, it shouldn't. We ended while we still appreciated each other; we ended without being in debt, and in fact, seeded several other new anarchist projects in our town with the leftover funds; and we ended by each of us moving toward other horizons. It felt sad, yet in a way that could be integrated, and didn't erase each other or the joy in what we'd created together. And it ended with an anarchistic marching band, going between the bookstore and café in a celebratory, musical "funeral" march for us and the community around us.

2

It was not a safe space. How could it (pretend to) be?

Not only was it smack-dab in the center of the intensive war zone that was "gentrification," aka displacement and dispossession, in San Francisco. But our space was not immune from causing harm to ourselves and others. After all, every anarchist, no matter where they live, has been shaped and socialized in, and traumatized by, the violent social order.

Instead, from the first moment I pressed the doorbell on the grated-metal door, directly across the street from the chaos of the best and worst of humanity on the 16th Street BART Plaza, and looked through to see zines haphazardly tossed on a small shelf, then walked up the two interior flights of

That might sound paradoxical. How can sorrow and joy commingle? How can we find the greatest sense of a harmonious whole by publicly curating space for both anguish and delight?

For most of human history, people practiced an abundance of intricate, culturally embedded communal rituals and sacred spaces to not only get them through every transition, good and bad, but also make sense of those shifts. Such ceremonies, from festivals to funerals, were inseparable parts of a healthy ecosystem. They (re)generated, sustained, and affirmed life and its cycles, giving them dignity and meaning. They let people immerse themselves in the entire spectrum of human emotions, which in actuality don't fit neatly into experiences but instead are bound up in the highs and lows of them all. Alas, among the many wisdoms lost when our elaborate rituals were stolen over the centuries by the powers-that-be, whether by assimilation or annihilation, was this: rituals, which bring out all the pieces of ourselves, are essential as the reparative and restorative glue of fully living.

Contemporary anarchism has, to its detriment, followed too obediently in the footsteps of the hegemonic death-denying culture we've been boxed into, largely abandoning rituals, most especially ones related to grief, and so leaving our losses and feelings around them largely unprocessed. When unprocessed, feelings don't just go away. They build up until they explode—whether inside ourselves and/or at each other. Those "explosions" have been keenly palpable since the onset of COVID-19. The numbers of suicides, road-rage accidents, overdoses, and the like have skyrocketed, even as the dominant culture—so adept at producing mass death—further isolated folks from each other and urged a return to "normal." Anarchists, too, yearned to go back to our normal, such as bookfairs and social centers, uprisings and frontline camps, but vastly underestimated how much the collective trauma had touched us, and thus did little to deeply think through, much less implement, what needed to shift in

our own convergences. And with little to no ritualistic mechanisms to fall back on to journey through our own layers of loss and grief together, too many anarchists blew up at each other, destroyed their own beloved projects, and further dissociated from their own sorrow as well as joy.

This attitude of ignoring grief at our own peril really hit home for me, personally and painfully, some eleven years ago, when I needed to caretake my simultaneously dying parents for about thirteen months. I thought I had a big, solid anarchist community, but it disappeared almost overnight. I was met instead with, "Come back when you're done," as if death and mourning were somehow outside our circles and friendships, and as if we could or should ever be "done" with grief, which is another name for what we love. That's why I threw myself into "rebellious mourning," in words and deeds, soon afterward. Because too much of what we love—the majority, I'd argue—is unnecessarily taken from us by this death cult of a social order. When we explicitly mourn our losses, as part and parcel of everything else we self-organize, we're extra clear-eyed about what and for whom we're fighting, from the living to our ancestors; we proactively mend ourselves and this world; and we keep love and life at the heart of all we do. Moreover, we're far better able to stick side by side with each other, tightening our interrelationships so as to get through the most excruciating of times.

Still, I often felt too alone in that task while wandering around doing hundreds of grief circles, and felt "crazy" seeing how much damage was wrought by us not doing the collective work of grief. Yet I was wrong. I wasn't completely alone; other anarchists had also felt called toward this task. And to wind my way back to those two, most joyous of anarchist events—Another Carolina Anarchist Bookfair (ACAB) and the Montreal Anarchist Bookfair—those isolated labors had now coalesced into shared efforts. Making space for grief was as integral a component as, say, tabling, food, and parties, thanks especially to feminist anarchists on both collectives.

At ACAB, held in Asheville in August 2023, the organizing collective had intentionally scheduled not just one but instead three workshops related to dying, death, and mourning, with my grief circle kicking off the bookfair to set the tone. A regional collective that includes anarchist gravediggers and casket makers was invited to craft a custom altar, which sat outside the front door of Firestorm Books, one of the main venues for the entire weekend. And given that ACAB's first day fell on the sixth anniversary of Charlottesville, a friend from nearby Durham, NC, brought an enormous banner made around that time that read, "We struggle in memory of all we've lost to white supremacy and fascism." The banner was painted soon after Heather Heyer was murdered, and so many others were deeply injured and forever scarred, by fascists during the Unite the Right in August 2017. It was originally hung from the ten-foot-high stone base of the first Confederate monument that folks tore down in North Carolina, and later, on the one-year anniversary of that monument falling, it was hung up again—this time as part of an altar with names and flowers and candles around it, and folks read the names of people killed by the police in Durham. The banner took pride of place at ACAB, draped from Firestorm's rafters as background for workshops—including "Herbs for the Cycles of Grief" and "Radical Death Care"—and still hangs there to this day, honoring our dead on a daily basis alongside all the standard pleasures of an anarcha-feminist, queer+trans bookstore.

To wander back a bit further in time to February 2023, when those of us on the Montreal Anarchist Bookfair collective were in planning mode, I ran across three queer and/or female anarchists who all wanted to do a grief space. It was not only the dead of winter in a cold city but we were also grappling with recent heavy losses and didn't feel up to going out, so we met on Jitsi, having never met each other before. Over the course of an hour, the body language went from the equivalent of wrapped in a blanket on a couch, slumped over, barely able to look up or participate, to eye contact, enthusiasm and warmth,

circles lingered on.

State repression is good for that: first creating immense fear among those targeted, then dragging out the costly (to us) proceedings, and then waiting for the fear itself to do the work of destroying or at least severely harming us.

But not always. Maybe we've learned, including from our mistakes.

Take #StopCopCity in so-called Atlanta. For all the many imaginative "diversity of tactics" that have so marked this inspiring movement over the past couple of years, perhaps the most overlooked is its self-generated "culture of care," which seems to be almost a given, especially within the solidarity efforts. The more that the cops, courts, and governments have ramped up serious, albeit absurd, charges against forest defenders, and particularly after the statist assassination of Tortuguita on January 18, 2023, mourning ceremonies and communal rituals, in-person care clinics, mutual aid therapy and peer-to-peer emotional support, medicinal herbs, and various other healing arts have only multiplied. Like everything else in this struggle to #DefendTheWeelauneeForest, all of this care is autonomously self-organized and offered with a generosity of spirit as well as prefigurative sensibility.

Those bigger, more visible direct actions of care are touching, of course, and go a long way to explaining why #StopCopCity has not only captured so many hearts and minds but also been so relatively long-lived, growing to embrace people from many different walks of life. What's felt so transformative, though, are the innumerable smaller, everyday direct actions of care that seem hardly worth remarking on or even taking note of—not out of lack of appreciation, but because they've coalesced into a shared culture of communal care that we're now so deeply embedded in, it's like the air we breathe within the solidarity efforts. Or more precisely, it's like a warm hug when things feel stressful—or for that matter, joyful too, or indeed when things feel all sorts of

ways because of the ravages of state repression.

To take a few "breaths" as examples:

When a large Signal thread full of supporters started filling up with gratuitously mean-spirited texts related to some genuine conundrum we were grappling with, one person matter-of-factly observed that the state has a long history of employing counterintelligence tactics against us. They noted that we can and should engage in disagreements over tough issues, but in ways that don't play into the state's divide-and-conquer schemes. Not only did this single, succinct text serve to de-escalate; it almost immediately reinstalled a sense of shared purpose.

When in order to "do our job" (voluntarily of course) as jail support folks, we had to watch hours of court hearings on live YouTube feeds, with our comrades, movement, and politics being painted by the red-baiting prosecutor as "terrorist," two therapists held a virtual "processing space" afterward. Not only did this single, humble session gift us with something we didn't even think we needed, but once we began talking/crying, we clearly did; it fast reaffirmed that we, too, as solidarity "workers" were seen and appreciated.

When a family member of a current codefendant was falling apart from worry about their beloved, a family member of a now-ex-codefendant from the J20 days spoke with them. Not only did this single, modest phone call hopefully go a little way to supplying the kind of empathy and understanding that only comes from a shared, unique experience; it repaid forward something that this J20 family member had constructively critiqued as wanting for themselves and not getting back then—that is, support for the impacts on the codefendants' kin.

Indeed, when folks see that someone in our solidarity circles, no matter their role, is struggling—such as because of a fresh loss, mental health challenge, or overwhelm and exhaustion—it's

almost commonplace to simply reach out to them, one on one—if at a distance, by sending a loving voice message, say; if nearby, by putting a consensual arm around their shoulder and encouraging them to breathe. Not only do these single, simple gestures aid in deactivating some of the worst edges of, for instance, grief or anxiety; they almost instantly reinstalled feelings of not being alone, or conversely, being interconnected.

Or when rumors begin to fly, there seems to always be someone offering a calm reminder that we can deal with any solid information that arises—we have everything we need among us to handle what gets thrown at us—but rumors only whip up fear and panic, and can lead to harming other supporters/codefendants, breaking trust, and/or hasty, bad decisions. Or someone will serenely volunteer to look into the rumor and follow up with facts. Not only do these single, levelheaded responses ease the added emotional turmoil that rumors catalyze; they quickly reinscribe the knowledge that a lot of folks, with a ton of skills and savvy, are engaging in joint defense, whether legally or ethically. Each of these minor interactions—most taking only a few minutes—have to date, time and time again, not only held our solidarity in place. They seem to be mitigating unnecessary suffering—the kind we too often inflict on each other when the boot of repression presses down on us, rather than directing our hostilities at the correct target, the state—while accentuating the quality of care we just see as the culture of everyday anarchism.

When the charges are hopefully all dropped, it's possible to already imagine this culture carrying forward, as second nature, into the next battle.

6

The two most joyous anarchist gatherings I've experienced since the pandemic began both made the most amount of room for grief. And I wasn't alone in that assessment.

rundown stairs lined with militant posters from around the globe, to next enter into an enormous room decorated with banners and abuzz with activity—a room that vibrantly multipurposed as both infoshop, event, and organizing space as well as living room, kitchen, and set in the corner, bathrooms—it felt deeply like coming home. Then it became home. And now it may always be the closest thing to home for me, even though eviction stole it out of anarchist hands.

It felt homey precisely because everything feels unsafe in this world, and the Station 40 collective, through a rotating cast of twenty to twenty-four housemate-characters and countless guests, somehow squeezed into eight bedrooms and lots of nooks, held to this agreement: "We're not a safe space. But when shit happens, we promise to deal with it."

Because shit will and did happen. And dealing with that by not involving the cops and state, nor lashing out at each other, takes experimentation and dedication—including making mistakes—through the ins and outs of daily life. So while my housemates mostly prided themselves on being and going "hard," their demeanor extended to being rock-hard solid when it came to the "soft" practices of collective care and solidarity in ways I've rarely experienced before or after.

Station 40 was far from perfect, or easy, or always kind. It could feel like a war zone inside our doors, too, at times. "Shit" occurred routinely given that we were a hub for anarchism in the Bay Area at the period. Pretty much every intense thing that could happen, did happen. But I learned, time and again, that when the going gets excruciatingly tough, I wasn't alone, nor did I have to slip into being the lone caretaker. Moreover, "care work" was neither made invisible nor gendered but rather felt like the hearth, as it were, of our home—even if that care didn't look warm and fuzzy, such as false promises of "safe space." In fact, some of the housemates who showed me, personally, the most tender care and deep reciprocity

had the crankiest, coldest, hardest shell (or so they fronted).

Yet those shells became shields of mutual self-defense and protection at a moment's notice when faced with threats to our house and/or potential perils to housemates, friends, and comrades. Our space, through which likely thousands of anarchists and like-minded folks passed, defied the typical face of anarchism—with its eclectic and wide-ranging mix of races, cultures, genders, ages, and so much more that somehow meshed so well—almost invariably lived up in queer-feministic practice to the slogan "Be careful with each so we can be dangerous together."

That looked like, for example, knowing that our lengthy rectangular kitchen table—at the heart of Station 40—was open for any and all topics, including many that would have been off-limits or politically incorrect in most antiauthoritarian spaces. Over big meals or after 11 p.m. in particular, we spent many a night wrestling with dilemmas, in lively, provocative, and generative dialogues. Those raucous, no-holds-barred conversations helped us grow. Together, we felt comfortable scrutinizing and challenging various "safe" positions in the wider anarchist world—positions that other comrades frequently took up unthinkingly, for one, but also positions that ultimately put anarchists and others in further harm's way (for example, via essentialized notions of identity that broke down our solidarities).

It looked, too, like us acting in concert, each playing their accomplished part without a conductor, such as when police suddenly raided our home during a big, crowded event. Everyone simultaneously leaped into action, taking on roles that fit their skill sets. That meant that we had everything we needed, within minutes, to lockdown our space, mobilize lawyers and community to show up outside, and spirit away what or who needed special protection while deciding on our strategy, yet equally, to calm our many guests and offer emotional support as needed.

Or it looked like us collectively fighting outbreaks of bedbugs, eradicating the infestations by relying on our own research and self-organization, being transparent with the wider community and at times responsibly shutting down our space to visitors, and aiding each other with the many tedious tasks necessary to ensure success. It meant trying to turn this tragedy into humor as well, from dubbing it our "social war" to jokingly imagining our neighbors all setting their bedbug-infested mattresses alight at intersections for a street party against evictions as well as to scare off the invasive tech bros driving rents sky high.

Or it looked like intimate caretaking in the most unsafe of situations for an individual, such as our whole household holding empathetic space for a housemate actively contemplating suicide over a twenty-four-hour period and finding them the consensual resources they needed to decide to live.

Shit happened. And together, we got through it as safely as possible.

3

Maybe it was the open, multilevel, hundred-plus-year-old barn that sparked our "cultivating care" framework. After all, anyone driving by it on the wooded road, friend or foe, could see right into the charmingly ramshackle structure, making this now-longtime radical space feel equal parts beautiful and vulnerable. It was clearly a magical location for our anarchist summer school. But the magic wasn't simply "there," like this barn built decades ago by unknown others. As an organizing collective, we had to continually tend to the floorboards and support beams, literally and figuratively, to conjure it up. And that ongoing "repair work" had to be something that everyone who participated in the camp for three summers proactively engaged in side by side.

How, though, could we encourage everyone to be tinkers, and with what tool kits? There were so many devices we wanted to pack into the

programming—history, strategic thinking, hands-on direct action skills, play, and more. Way too much for an eight-day camp. Yet perhaps the most crucial tool turned out to be something that is not usually ready-to-hand in most anarchist spaces: being vulnerable with each other, and as the foundation for everything else.

From the opening circle on, held in the embrace of the ancient barnwood that had once been a canopy of trees for other ecosystems, we welcomed and modeled the painstaking yet joyful work of everyone striving to be the person they aspire to be, sharing the fullness of themselves and their gifts. We took up what might seem like antiquated tools—such as opening up our hearts and minds to each other, challenging ourselves to grow in generative ways including by leaning into discomfort, and remembering that anarchism and life are messy-beautiful processes—so as to see and get to know each other as multidimensional, messy-beautiful people. We emphasized that community isn't a prefab, static entity; it's something we all directly and dynamically cultivate together. So we invited everyone, for the duration of camp, to experiment wholeheartedly, tenderly, and in ways we usually only dream about with "caring for each like we're already in a new, do-it-ourselves world."

That's how the magic appeared. Which is another way of saying that otherworldly social relations emerged.

On that ground, we experienced all sorts of otherworldly conversations, dances, campfires, rituals, and silliness, otherworldly learning, adventuring, grieving, and creating, otherworldly good troublemaking and inspiration. And when we stumbled into difficult territory over the course of those three summers in that barn, we otherworldly ways of journeying through it. We chose empathy and trust. We chose love.

So during our last, pre-pandemic summer when one participant ignored many people's boundaries—from emotional to logistical, material to physical—and kept

violating consent, we to see everyone—all of us—as perfectly imperfect people always capable of transformation. We to strive to not merely do no further harm but rather aid each other in breaking patterns that arise from and/or cause trauma in ourselves and others. And even though we had, in the end, to ask that person to leave camp, we didn't dehumanize them or leave them out of these aspirations. Instead, we let love guide us.

The ins and outs of how we did this aren't reducible to a how-to list, in the same way that love can't and shouldn't be quantified. That's almost certainly why this "accountability process" worked better than the vast majority of them. It wasn't a formulaic process; instead, it was embedded in bonds of love, expansively understood and intentionally nurtured by everyone's willingness to open up to and with each other. As such, we didn't begin or end by broadcasting rumor or drama to the whole camp. We didn't cancel anyone or make anyone disposable. We didn't think or act through binaries of good/bad, nor a carceral or punishment logic.

We listened. We believed. We held space for everyone's life stories, including the person who was pushing boundaries, and how people's past experiences shaped their present behaviors, feelings, and reactions. We held space, too, for how violations of consent can bring up a lot for everyone, whether receiver, giver, or eyewitness to the harm. We brought curiosity to how those stories and experiences can butt up against each other, intentionally or not, and how much this world that we so long to change has such power to turn us into people we don't want to be or can't see we've become.

Almost organically, like gently tossing a pebble into a mirrorlike pond and letting interdependent circles ripple out outward, we threw ourselves compassionately and self-reflectively into the fabric of our social relations, which we'd been cultivating before and during camp, and let circles of mutualistic care ripple outward. Those circles let us each take on what we felt we could,

and what we felt we could contribute, and equally at times, encircled us when we couldn't take on various tasks, or even more profoundly, helped us see when we couldn't or shouldn't take on various tasks. Those circles embraced everyone in differential yet interdependent ways, during and well beyond camp, including the person who seemingly couldn't maintain boundaries. And those circles—the ones we ourselves had built—saw us all as deserving of dignity, solidarity, and love, even if we need to not share space sometimes.

4

Richard Spencer's cross-country speaking tour at US colleges was put to a screeching halt by thousands of "little" acts of antifascist care.

Of course, what the headlines will tell you is quite different: "Violence Erupts on MSU Campus as Richard Spencer Speaks"; "Fights Break out at Michigan State [University] as Protesters, White Supremacists Converge for Richard Spencer Speech." And alas, some of the more bro-ey antifascists who contributed to this wildly successful deplatforming effort would largely agree, pointing to the fighting—the physical community self-defense—as what did the trick on March 5, 2018. Not that throwing punches at a neo-Nazi, antisemitic conspiracy theorist, and white supremacist such as Spencer is bad or wrong; often it's strategically wise and tactically necessary. Fascism tends not to listen to "reasoned" arguments, contrary to what liberals like to believe.

But sometimes liberals, including progressive and social democratic ones, can be moved by compelling arguments to actively and consensually take direct action against fascism. And so when we heard Spencer's tour was slated to come to East Lansing, and anarchist(ic) folks knew that if we hoped to squash his mobilization, we needed large numbers of people—far beyond our confederation of anarchist groups in a half-dozen Michigan cities—we spent months making those arguments in a form

that might not be recognizable as such. We asserted, in deeds not words, solidarity and care.

That wasn't without some contention with our own anarchist circles. Strains of machismo maintained that "care" wasn't radical. That attitude, in turn, meant that some patriarchal behaviors crept in, elevating "defense" and those who prioritized it, while at times denying "solidarity" to those of us focusing on communal care (though never doing so on the streets thankfully). Remarkably, however, we all understood the big picture—smashing fascism—and the necessity of outreach to build momentum and, on the big day, numbers. So ultimately, for and through this antifascist win, we all took care to make it work (double meaning intended!), before, during, and after #StopSpencer.

This manifested in so many ways, it would be impossible to capture, and such tender direct actions of care are better lived than described. But a few examples should provide an idea.

Before: The collective I was part of, in the town with the most amount of organizing toward March 5, joined in a coalition among a wide range of political tendencies, with the majority of folks falling somewhere on the liberal spectrum, new to activism, never mind antifascism. Many had never been to a demonstration, or at least not one where the risk of heavily armed cops and fascists was so palpable. Our collective already had the trust of most activists in our town due to how we'd consistently shown up, and as the most imaginative, savvy, and welcoming of mischief makers. So we put that trust to work, with patience and humility, first listening to why most people in the coalition were so hesitant to actually be present in person to #StopSpencer; second, really hearing and believing them, with empathy not annoyance; and finally, offering weeks of mentorship. Because when we listened, it came down to two reasons: not so much their liberal or social democratic sensibilities, as we'd thought, but fear and lack of experience. Through trainings, one-

on-one conversations, and myriad other support, we gave them the knowledge, skills, and wisdom to feel empowered to be there on March 5, on whatever terms and by taking up whatever roles felt most consensual to them. The result was not simply that our city brought out the most people, and in affinity crews, but also that those folks felt as comfortable and prepared as one can when facing off with cops and fascists.

During: As we'd taught other affinity groups to do, my collective had spent hours ahead of time talking honestly about our fears and preferred levels of engagement at #StopSpencer. Based on that, we'd created layers of a buddy system, off-site meeting point, secure communication, jail support forms, and backup plans, among other things, plus had agreed to arrive and leave together. And we did that over a fun evening of banner making and food in the warmth of a collective member's house, further nourishing our friendships and the deep culture of care among us. On the "battlefield" (in this case, a cornfield behind what's known as Moo U) that March 5, our bonds meant that we could simply look each other in the eye and know what needed to dynamically shift or who needed extra solidarity. All the care work put into building the #StopSpencer coalition and other statewide social relationships among organizers, though, meant that many of us—beyond our own affinity crews—could do the same. Time and again, through eye contact or body language, people aided others in calming down or stepping back when needed, or crews felt braver than anticipated and moved closer to the front line with the complementary support of other affinity groups. In the heat and intensity of this real battle, communal defense was inseparable from communal care.

After: It wasn't planned, but in the week after #StopSpencer, we not only celebrated what was a victory on multiple levels—Spencer canceled his tour, some prominent fascist groups unraveled, no one was shot or killed by cops or white supremacists (a real worry), and we forged loads of new mutualistic

infrastructure and projects, to name some. We also dived gratefully into one debrief after another, large and small, in public spaces and private ones. For even though we won, the tension and trauma of being so close to heavily armed cops and fascists still brought up big feelings. Three things stuck out during our debriefs. People were deeply committed to this form of aftercare, showing up as their whole, vulnerable selves with and for each other. Most of those who weren't or hadn't previously been anarchists before #StopSpencer credited us anarchists with supplying the care and solidarity they needed to find their own strength, allowing them to go further than they ever thought they could. And crucially, processing together works wonders.

Care works, including in the fight to hinder fascism.

5

There were so many times during #DefendJ20 when it felt like the state was sitting back, laughing at us, watching codefendants and their supporters tear each other apart. I knew it was the intense emotional strain of some two hundred people facing the possibility of seventy-five years behind bars after being mass arrested during #Disrupt20 at Trump's 2017 inauguration that caused the internal fractures, acrimony, and even downright nastiness as the weeks turned into months of us trying to sustain our DIY solidarity infrastructure. It's not that J20 codefendants weren't supported with a tremendous amount of love and solidarity—legal, material, and immaterial. But on the regular, there wasn't a feminist commitment to gently, skillfully, and carefully intervening at the first sign that the statist stress was being misplaced onto our own dynamics.

To this day, I'm proud that a core of us supporters—"coincidentally," a majority of which were queer and/or female—stuck it to out, even if the end was bittersweet: collective defense mostly held and the charges were dropped, thank goodness, but unprocessed trauma and antagonisms within ex-J20